



Daily Report

Sub-Saharan Africa

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Thursday
28 October 1993

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Burundi

Military Chiefs Regain Control; UN Envoy Arrives

AB2710152293 Paris AFP in English 1427 GMT 27 Oct 93

[By Annie Thomas]

[Text] Kigali, Oct 27 (AFP) - Special UN envoy James Jonah arrived in troubled Burundi on Wednesday [27 October] as senior officers there were said to have won back control of rampaging troops.

The Belgian Foreign Ministry in Brussels said it had information that the military high command in the capital Bujumbura had apparently won back control of the Army and had restored order among more than 60 percent of its soldiers. A ministry spokesman said the town was calm, with many shops closed.

Jonah, UN under-secretary-general for political affairs, flew in from Somalia, by way of Nairobi. Airport control tower officials here in neighbouring Rwanda said Bujumbura's International Airport remained closed to commercial flights but was opened to let Jonah land.

Burundi's Foreign Minister Sylvestre Nibantunganya, one of the ministers hiding out in Western embassies in Bujumbura after last week's coup in which President Melchior Ndadaye was murdered, said Jonah would be given a clear message when he met the surviving government members.

"There absolutely must be a force deployed to protect our democratically elected institutions and their representatives," the minister said in a telephone interview from Kigali.

Two Burundi ministers have taken refuge here. Health Minister Jean Minani and Justice Minister Fulgence Dwima Bakana. They were expected to hold talks on Wednesday with Organisation of African Unity Secretary-General Salim Ahmed Salim, OAU sources said.

Salim is here officially in connection with the August peace agreement signed by the Rwandan Government and rebels of the Patriotic Front.

Also expected here on Wednesday en route for Burundi was Said Rifaat, an envoy of Egyptian leader Hosni Mubarak who is current OAU chairman.

Bakana, who got here on Monday after escaping from Bujumbura through the hills along the border with Zaire, said warily: "We must not forget that massacres are continuing in Burundi, and all the peaceful statements by the coupmakers have to be treated very cautiously." He remembered a coup in 1972. "It was the same thing. They said there was peace, but in the month that followed, they slaughtered everyone."

Nearly 400,000 Burundians have fled to Rwanda, Zaire and Tanzania this time. Minani, heading a temporary

government-in-exile, has appealed for foreign intervention "to end the massacre" of Hutus, the majority tribe, by the military, which is dominated by the Tutsi minority. The Army was a "furious force the government cannot control," Minani said.

Thierry Kiyogera, intelligence chief at Ntega in the Northern Kirundo Province, said he saw soldiers killing government administrators, leading merchants and college students as he fled through the localities of Vumbi, Ntega, Gitobe and Bugabira.

"They had lists of people to kill, and their aim was to kill Hutu intellectuals," he said. He also remembered the 1972 bloodletting, when an estimated 100,000 to 200,000 Hutus were massacred by the Army.

The assassinated Ndadaye was the first Hutu to hold the post of president, after his election in June.

European Community Headquarters in Brussels said they were allocating two million ECUs (2,280,000 dollars) for 250,000 refugees in Rwanda and 30,000 more along the border. The four-month project would cover basic necessities including food, tents and blankets, plus medical kits, a spokesman said. The Belgian Red Cross and the Belgian branch of the medical charity Medecins sans Frontieres would carry out the relief work.

Ngeze, Soldiers Said Under Arrest

EA2710195193 Kigali Radiodiffusion Nationale de la Republique Rwandaise in English 1615 GMT 27 Oct 93

[Text] The UN assistant secretary general in charge of political affairs, Mr. James Jonah, arrived this afternoon in Bujumbura. The UN special envoy in Burundi, who is trying to help the Burundi parties restore constitutional legality, is expected to meet members of the government of assassinated President Melchior Ndadaye, who sought refuge in the French Embassy in Bujumbura.

Reports from Burundi also say that [word indistinct] Hutus have today attacked different military barracks in Burundi, according to Burundi military sources. It was not [words indistinct] whether there were casualties.

In other news, the Burundi Army Headquarters has announced it has recaptured over 60 percent of the armed forces following the military coup of 21 October. The situation was calm in Bujumbura today, where most shops remain closed.

The four Burundi ambassadors in Europe have today called on the international community to send foreign troops to their country to bring an end to the military coup in Burundi. The four ambassadors estimate that if foreign troops would be placed under the UN and OAU control, their mission would consist of ending the fighting in Burundi and to repulse the soldiers into their barracks.

According to UNHCR sources, about 400,000 Burundian refugees have already arrived in Rwanda since last Thursday [21 October] to flee inter-ethnic violence.

The latest reports from Bujumbura say that 15 soldiers among the coup makers have already fled the country to escape arrest, and that the chairman of the so-called National Council for Public Salvation, Mr. Francois Ngeze, is now under house arrest.

Ministers: Plotters 'Disbanded'

EA2710202793 Bujumbura Radio-Television Nationale du Burundi Radio in Kirundi 1816 GMT 27 Oct 93

[Text] The following is a communique from the Government of Burundi: The prime minister of Burundi informs all Burundians and the international community of the following: The enemies who wanted to overthrow the Burundi Government with the help of some foreigners have started to spread rumors aimed at dividing members of the government.

We once again would like to state that there is only one government, and no one can divide it. As the government is in exile, the prime minister appointed two ministers who represent the government in foreign countries: They are Minister of Health Dr. Jean Minani and Minister of Justice Fulgence Bakana.

They inform you that the government headed by the prime minister follows closely what is happening in the country.

We remind all Burundians and the international community that the small group that wanted to overthrow the state has been disbanded.

Airport Open; Communications Restored

AB2810094593 Paris AFP in English 0856 GMT 28 Oct 93

[Text] Nairobi, Oct 28 (AFP)—The Bujumbura Airport has reopened to commercial flights, aviation sources said Thursday, and telephone links have also been restored with the central African state of Burundi following a military coup. A passenger plane of the Belgian airline Sabena landed at Bujumbura on Thursday, and several light planes were allowed to land Wednesday [27 October], the sources said.

The airport had been closed since the October 21 coup, but reopened Wednesday to allow in United Nations special envoy James Jonah. Telephones had functioned intermittently since the coup, but seemed to be back to normal Thursday.

Ambassadors Urge Foreign Intervention

LD2710140493 Hamburg DPA in German 1221 GMT 27 Oct 93

[Excerpt] Bonn (DPA)—Several of Burundi's European ambassadors have strongly condemned the rebels and urgently appealed to the international community to send troops to the country. The ambassadors, who are accredited to Bonn, Rome, Stockholm, and Geneva (United Nations), told journalists in Bonn today that the objective must be to restore basic democratic order and

security. They said that those Burundi ambassadors in Europe who have not come to Bonn fully share the opinion of those present. Each ambassador is responsible for a number of European countries.

According to the ambassadors, there is hardly any danger to Western foreigners in Burundi. The continuation of international assistance should be delayed until the framework conditions have sufficiently stabilized to enable democracy to survive, the ambassadors said. The official representative of the ousted government is currently Public Health Minister Jean Minani, who is in Kigali, the capital of neighboring Rwanda, they said.

The military, which is dominated by the Tutsi minority, toppled Burundi's elected government last week and killed President Melchior Ndadaye, a member of the Hutu majority, and several other members of the government. [passage omitted]

Military Source on Hutu Attacks

AB2710145293 Paris AFP in French 1301 GMT 27 Oct 93

[Text] Bujumbura, 27 Oct (AFP)—Armed Hutus today attacked a military camp in the eastern part of Burundi, it was learned from military sources in Bujumbura.

The attack took place at Mutukura in the Cankuzo Province near the Tanzanian border, the same source added. The assailants then withdrew to the forest, the source added without disclosing the number of casualties.

Other clashes between Tutsi soldiers and armed Hutus were reported in the region as well as in Mgozi (north of Burundi) on the Zairian border (west) and at Gitega (center), the same source said.

The Hutus are the majority tribe in the country. They had access to power for the first time with the election of Melchior Ndadaye as president.

Melchior Ndadaye was assassinated on 21 October by putschists who belong to the minority Tutsi tribe and who dominate in the Burundian Army.

Refugees Recount 'Atrocities'

EA2710165593 Kigali Radiodiffusion Nationale de la Republique Rwandaise in French 1800 GMT 26 Oct 93

[Text] On the ground in Burundi, fear still prevails—a fear that led France to group its nationals together in the Burundian capital of Bujumbura. And this is not once bitten, twice shy, at least for the Hutu people of northern Burundi, as witnessed by one of our colleagues, for dead bodies can still be seen floating on the Akagera River. Those who escaped describe insurgent troops committing unspeakable atrocities. Jean-Baptiste Numbahumpatse reports:

[Begin Numbahumpatse recording] Slaughter is still there in northern Burundi. The big Akagera River, which serves as a border between this country and Rwanda, is still littered with many dead bodies. Hutu refugees continue to

cross the border, many of them seriously wounded, victims of unspeakable and inhuman aggression and brutality.

We have gathered overwhelming evidence about the Burundian troops from these unfortunate victims of ironical fate. The majority of them said they were literally cut to pieces by military aggressors with bayonets or machetes, while others said they had come under automatic weapons fire as they ran away through fields and valleys.

We have thus run into countless wounded people among Burundian refugees on the Rwanda-Burundi border and we have noted the presence of a large number of troops in uniform, weapons slung across their shoulders on the other side of the border in Burundi, criss-crossing banana plantations and marshes—tracking down all fugitives.

The refugees' testimonies tally on a single point: This is a massacre organized to exterminate the Hutu elite.

Deaths in the region are counted in the hundreds. The treatment reserved for victims is unspeakable. Among those seriously wounded we ran into, many had open wounds where flesh had been removed. They described themselves as having been obliged to eat their own flesh in order to avoid seeing their children cut into bits. This inhuman barbarity probably results from the fact that the Hutus cold-bloodedly killed their Tutsi neighbors as soon as they learned that their president, Melchior Ndadaye, had been assassinated.

Meanwhile, Burundian refugees who have arrived in Rwanda since 21 October are facing extraordinary difficulties: Lack of food, shelter, and blankets. In addition to this, they are at the mercy of climatic hazards at a time when the region is already in the rainy season.

Charity organizations are already working. They are still grouping together the equipment needed to rescue the refugees. The Belgian Red Cross has already started distributing tents, sheeting [preceding word in English] and jerry cans—but hunger still imposes its own law. Jean-Baptiste Numbahumpatse, ORINFOR [Rwandan Information Office], Kigali.

Rwanda

Spokesman Deplores Claims of RPF Role in Burundi Coup

AB2710222793 London BBC World Service in English
1705 GMT 27 Oct 93

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] The upheavals in Burundi and the fresh eruption of ethnic violence there has come at a very sensitive time for neighboring Rwanda, which is only now implementing the Arusha peace deal between the government of President Habyarimana and the Tutsi-led Rwandan Patriotic Front, RPF, rebels. On the line to Kigali, Robin White asked RPF spokesman James Raygo if the events in Burundi were threatening the peace deal in Rwanda.

[Begin recording] [Raygo] Well, we are, of course, you know, worried by the situation, because there are some people who would like to use what is happening—what has unfortunately happened in Burundi—to exploit the situation in Rwanda.

[White] Now there have, I think, been accusations coming from inside the Rwandan Government itself that you are, in some way, involved in this coup plot in neighboring Burundi.

[Raygo] Well, we have not heard any people from the Government of Rwanda saying that, but we have heard extremist parties in Rwanda—the party called the CDR [Coalition for the Defense of the Republic]—and we have also heard from a party here in Europe and those called International Christian Democrats and a bishop from Burundi, Ndori Chimpa, trying to associate RPF with what has happened in Burundi. We deplore that kind of amalgamation, because we were the first people to condemn, you know, those responsible, really—the adventurers in Burundi, who unfortunately have disrupted the democratically elected government in Burundi. So, these are ridiculous claims and those people who know what is happening just find that just irresponsible utterances.

[White] But are you expecting that there might be some kind of backlash in Rwanda from Hutus?

[Raygo] The party that I have just mentioned called the CDR has, as a matter of fact, called the Hutus to rise against the Tutsis. So, there are extremists and you know, from the CDR and from the MRND [Republican National Movement for Democracy and Development], the party of the president, people who are likely to want to exploit the situation, but I think they should be warned that all people who are stopping democracy in that region will be condemned. [end recording]

OAU Secretary General Visits To Discuss Burundi Events

Views International Intervention

EA2710210793 Kigali Radiodiffusion Nationale de la
Republique Rwandaise in English 1615 GMT 27 Oct 93

[Excerpts] The OAU secretary general, Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim, who has been on an official visit in Rwanda since yesterday, today met the two Burundi ministers in exile in Kigali—the Burundi minister of justice and the Burundi minister of health, Mr. Jean Minani—to discuss the situation in Burundi following the military coup that overthrew President Ndadaye. [passage omitted]

[Begin recording] [Salim] [passage omitted] We discussed with the Rwandan president, naturally, the developments in Burundi. We had a lengthy discussion on this. And clearly there are issues on which there is common position on the part not only of Africa, and on the part of the world community. The world community, starting with Africa first, we have expressed our outrage at the killing of President Ndadaye, at the military putsch which took

place. We have all collectively said that there is a need to restore legality and constitutionality in Burundi. I and the president have also stressed the importance of ensuring that the process of stabilization and restoration of peace in the country takes place as soon as possible.

And I have taken the opportunity to stress, and want to stress this again, that the tragedy that has taken place in Burundi is not simply a Burundi tragedy; it is not only a matter of concern to Rwanda, it is a matter of concern for the whole of Africa. And it should be seen in its proper context. It is an act, an irresponsible act which tried to reverse the democratic process. And Africa has now said clearly: We will not accept the reversal of democratic processes by the use of arms. Africa is saying that it is now an age of the ballot and not the bullet. But it seems important and I have used the opportunity and we are at one with the president on this, to say that people should see the situation in Burundi in its proper context and not take an ethnic picture of the situation, rather take a picture that those who are responsible are people who have gone outside the Constitution, who have gone outside the behavior expected of men and women who are supposed to defend their country.

[Unidentified correspondent] Are you for the deployment of any international force to ensure order and security in Burundi?

[Salim] Well, let me put it this way: Something needs to be done in Burundi. Something needs to be done so as to ensure there is confidence in the country to enable the Government of Burundi, the legitimate Government of Burundi, to function and to function in confidence. Now, what should be done, of course, is a matter which requires a lot of consultations. What we need to do is to make sure to restore the situation in Burundi to a process as normal as it can be. Now, what exactly needs to be done is why I have been consulting with the president, and I have been consulting with other leaders, and we shall see what is the best course of action. [end recording]

Calls For African Peacekeeping Force

AB2810073593 Paris AFP in English 0333 GMT 28 Oct 93

[Text] Kigali, Oct 28 (AFP)—The head of the Organisation of African Unity called here Wednesday for an African peacekeeping force with international backing to be sent into Burundi to restore order after last Thursday's aborted coup.

OAU Secretary General Salim Ahmed Salim, in Rwanda to see what can be done to help the estimated 200,000 refugees who have poured across the border since the coup, told AFP: "I believe there is merit in instituting some kind of force, a force to create confidence."

"My preference is an African force supported by the international community," he said.

The force should "assist the government" of President Melchior Ndadaye, who was killed by the plotters, and "act as a force to create the condition of a reorganisation of the security forces," he said. Ndadaye was the first president since independence from Belgium in 1962 to come from the majority Hutu tribe.

The Army is dominated by the Tutsi minority, and was allegedly responsible for massacring Hutu civilians in the centre and east of the country immediately after the coup.

"Whatever we do, it must be done with speed," he said. "There is an international consensus on the need to restore legitimacy."

Rwandan radio, monitored in London by the BBC, reported Wednesday that Francois Ngeze, who was appointed caretaker leader by the plotters, had been placed under house arrest. The radio also said 15 soldiers who took part in the plot had fled the country to escape arrest, amid increasingly clear evidence that the coup has failed. Ngeze was appointed head of the Committee of Public Salvation.

Over the weekend he made two broadcasts on radio and television denying that he was involved in the putsch, saying he had accepted the committee's chairmanship "to help re-establish peace" and to restore legal authority.

U.N. Assistant Secretary General James Jonah warned Wednesday that a "vacuum of power" created in Burundi between the Army and government after the attempt was a major obstacle to solving the Burundian problem. "A way to resolve the problem would be to get the coup makers out of the country, if one can identify them, but this will need cooperation from the Army command," Jonah said after arriving in the Burundi capital Bujumbura.

In another development, Rwandan President Juvenal Habyarimana declared a seven-day period of mourning from Thursday for assassinated President Ndadaye and "other martyrs of democracy" in Burundi.

Ethiopia

Foreign Minister Backs Decisions of Addis Ababa Summit

EA2710203993 Addis Ababa Voice of Ethiopia Network in Amharic 1700 GMT 26 Oct 93

[Excerpt] Mr. Seyoum Mesfin, the Ethiopian foreign minister, noted that the leaders of Kenya, Djibouti and Sudan all agree that an urgent political congress based on the Addis Ababa agreement on Somalia should be called, so as to bring about reconciliation and establish a new system.

Mr. Seyoum Mesfin noted this in a press statement to reporters on his return from delivering President Meles's message to neighboring countries concerning the Somali issue. In his statement Mr. Seyoum said that neighboring countries have promised to make efforts to prepare a political congress which will enable the Somali political and tribal leaders to bring about a reconciliation and peace in the country. Bertukan Haregeweyne has the details:

[Begin Bertukan recording] According to Mr. Seyoum Mesfin's statement, the political congress should be based on the Addis Ababa agreement reached at last year's congress, which was held in Addis Ababa. The foreign minister said that the congress should be based on the Addis Ababa agreement, because the Somali political organizations and tribal leaders who participated in last year's Addis Ababa conference agreed on the basic issues. He also noted that it was no use abandoning the agreement reached and gathering to make another agreement, saying that it was necessary to implement what everyone had already agreed on.

Mr. Seyoum said that President Meles wanted the proposed political meeting to be held in Mogadishu, if the situation allowed, but if it was not possible then it could be held in Addis Ababa. Noting that all Somali political organizations should prepare for the meeting, Mr. Seyoum said that it was his belief that all sides would make an effort to attend the meeting and implement the Addis Ababa agreement. According to the statement, President Meles' message to leaders of neighboring countries included pointing out the need to establish an independent commission to investigate the clashes between Aidid's army and UN peacekeeping forces last June.

The minister also noted that it was President Meles's belief that the independent commission should investigate the reason for the clashes to find out who was responsible, and that its establishment would play a key role in finding a solution to many problems. The minister also noted that it was the belief of the Ethiopian Government that the immediate establishment of the commission would enable a change away from the instability in Somalia and could bring about an initial ceasefire. Mr. Mesfin said that the United Nations was

preparing to hold an international conference concerning humanitarian relief assistance in Addis Ababa next month, and said that the Ethiopian Government would do everything possible to ensure the success of the conference. [passage omitted]

Somalia

Aidid Interviewed, Denies Fleeing to Sudan

EA2810130893 Omdurman Republic of Sudan Radio Network in Arabic 1900 GMT 27 Oct 93

[Text] The Somali leader, General Mohamed Farah Aidid, has denied that he has fled to Sudan or is receiving military support from Sudan. Answering a question from a radio reporter in Mogadishu during a news conference he held in a district of the Somali capital, he said these allegations had been made by some people in order to confuse the firm relationship between the Sudanese and Somali peoples. Major General Aidid praised Sudan's support for its brothers in Somalia and its strong stand with them.

Prior to his news conference, which was attended by all the representatives of the international mass media in Mogadishu, Maj. Gen. Aidid launched a strongly worded attack on UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali. He criticized the policies of the international organization in Somalia and held the secretary general and his representative, Admiral Jonathan Howe, responsible for the killing, injuring and displacement of numerous unarmed sons of Somalia during the savage attacks carried out by the international forces. He called on the United Nations and its secretary general to change the aggressive policy they are pursuing in Somalia.

Somaliland President Talks With UNOSOM Delegation

EA2710183693 (Clandestine) Radio Hargeysa Voice of the Republic of Somaliland in Somali 1200 GMT 20 Oct 93

[Text] The president of the republic of Somaliland, Mr. Muhammad Haji Ibrahim Egal, this morning received a UN Operation in Somalia II [UNOSOM-II] delegation at the presidency here in Hargeysa, the capital of the republic of Somaliland. The UNOSOM-II delegation is headed by political and planning officer Dr. Halim. President Egal and the UNOSOM-II delegation discussed UNOSOM-II's assistance to the republic of Somaliland, which includes supporting the police, prisons and judiciary services. UNOSOM-II will pay the salaries of the personnel of these three bodies for six months and provide their uniforms. UNOSOM-II's plans include the rehabilitation and re-equipping of the country's police stations, prisons and courts. Funds for the three services have been delivered to the government of the republic of Somaliland. UNOSOM-II will also help in financing the disarmament and the demobilization of armed persons.

While in the republic of Somaliland the delegation will tour Berbera, Lixleh Training Institute in Mandheera, Boorama, Burco, Laas Caanood and Ceerigaabo towns. They will visit the police stations, prisons and law courts and determine which need rehabilitation. The talks between the government of the republic of Somaliland and UNOSOM-II have proceeded smoothly. Details of the main points of agreement will be released at the conclusion of the talks, which are still continuing.

Meanwhile, the Office of the President of the Republic of Somaliland in Hargeysa reports that the president of the republic of Somaliland, Mr. Muhammad Haji Ibrahim Egal, received and held talks in his office with elders from the eastern communities of Burco town. The report adds that the president and the delegation of elders from these communities were in complete understanding and agreement on all the points discussed.

British Ambassador to Ethiopia Visits Hargeysa

EA2710185093 (Clandestine) Radio Hargeysa Voice of the Republic of Somali/and in Somali 1200 GMT 23 Oct 93

[Excerpt] The minister of information of the republic of Somaliland, Mr. Yusuf Shaykh Ibrahim, today at the ministry's headquarters at Radio Hargeysa received the ambassador of the United Kingdom based in Ethiopia, Mr. James Glaze. The minister briefed Mr. Glaze on the current position of the ministry, especially regarding its equipment. The minister and the ambassador toured the various sections of the ministry. Present at the occasion was the deputy minister of defense of the republic of Somaliland, Mr. Hasan Gureh Jama.

Tanzania

Burundian Refugees Rise to 85,000; Police on Alert

AB2710153893 Paris AFP in English 1504 GMT 27 Oct 93

[Text] Dar es Salaam, Oct 27 (AFP)—Tanzanian police have been put on a state of alert as the number of

Burundian refugees fleeing their country after last Thursday's coup reached 85,000 on Wednesday [27 October], it was announced here.

Burundian President Melchior Ndadaye, the first elected majority Hutu president in Burundi since independence from Belgium in 1962, died along with several of his ministers in the coup led by the minority Tutsi-dominated Army, triggering another wave of massacres and exodus of hundreds of thousands of refugees to neighbouring Rwanda, Tanzania and Zaire.

Announcing the new figures for the ever-increasing influx, Tanzanian deputy premier and home affairs minister Augustine Mrema told AFP that police and other security forces would be on alert to counter any persons taking advantage of the refugee situation to cause chaos in Tanzania. "Police in Kigoma and Kagera regions have been instructed to be on full alert to ensure that bad elements do not take advantage of the refugee situation to cause chaos and disrupt public peace", Mrema said.

Mrema said Tanzanian authorities expected to receive more than 100,000 Burundian refugees fleeing atrocities perpetrated against the Hutu civilian population by Tutsi soldiers who led the coup that has rekindled bloody ethnic clashes throughout the country.

He said the security precautions were necessary in the two regions bordering Burundi and would be used to disarm some of the refugees that might come in armed, in order to maintain peace in the area.

The Tanzania Government has, meanwhile, made a fresh appeal to the international community for assistance to enable it manage the refugee-inflow.

The appeal comes amid reports from Kagera region's district of Ngara which say that over 60 percent of the 30,000 Burundian refugees at reception centres there were children in very poor health.

He said doctors from the regional capital of Bukoba had been dispatched to Ngara with medicines to help control diarrhoea, measles and other diseases, while vaccines were also dispatched there to prevent outbreaks of cholera and meningitis.

De Klerk To Meet With Freedom Alliance 29 Oct

*MB2810100193 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0931 GMT 28 Oct 93*

[By David Greybe]

[Text] Pretoria Oct 28 SAPA— State President F.W. de Klerk will meet the Freedom Alliance [FA] on Friday afternoon in Pretoria in the latest bid to prevent a complete negotiations breakdown with the FA.

The agreement to meet was finalised at a three-hour bilateral meeting between the alliance and the South African Government in Pretoria on Thursday morning.

Alliance spokesman Rowan Cronje of Bophuthatswana said afterwards the bilateral had "generally been constructive, and progress has been made on a number of issues". He declined to divulge details, except to reiterate the alliance warning that the negotiations process at the World Trade Centre at Kempton Park was moving too fast. "I think South Africa must ask itself...Is a week more important than an all-inclusive solution," Mr Cronje said, referring to the Kempton Park deadline next Friday [5 November] for finalisation of the constitutional transition package.

In Johannesburg, State President F. W. de Klerk said on Thursday he would meet members of the Freedom Alliance "before the weekend" to resolve the FA's constitutional concerns.

Addressing the FINANCIAL MAIL Investment Conference, Mr de Klerk said he was optimistic the Freedom Alliance's, and in particular the Inkatha Freedom Party's [IFP], wish for strong regional government would be met. "If there's an honest and objective approach to work through the constitution as it is emerging, I'm convinced the fundamental requirements... Of the IFP can be achieved," he said. "I almost want to say already it has been achieved."

In Pretoria Thursday morning, senior government negotiator Roelf Meyer, in a short statement after the FA/ government bilateral, said the alliance had responded to the government's position on the negotiations process, as well as the "critical areas" as far as the alliance was concerned, contained in a document the government handed them a week ago. "Today (Thursday) the Freedom Alliance reacted to that document and the government and the Freedom Alliance had exploratory talks on their (alliance's) reaction," Mr Meyer said.

The two sides also made preparations for the leaders' meeting on Friday. FA leaders to meet Mr de Klerk include Mangosuthu Buthelezi (kwaZulu/Inkatha Freedom Party); Ferdi Hartzenberg (Conservative Party); Constand Viljoen (Afrikaner Volksfront [National Front]); Lucas Mangope (Bophuthatswana); and Oupa Gqozo (Ciskei).

Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte, one of a number of government ministers who attended the bilateral, said

on leaving that a lot depended on Friday's meeting between the alliance leaders and Mr de Klerk.

A meeting of alliance leaders earlier in the week requested an urgent meeting with Mr de Klerk after a bilateral between the alliance and the African National Congress [ANC] broke down.

They warned that "South Africa is approaching a crisis of historic proportions" if the ANC and the government went ahead and adopted a constitutional solution without them.

Three issues will dominate Friday's meeting:

- The transition process. The alliance is opposed to the two-phase process which negotiators at the World Trade Centre have adopted;
- Timeframes. The alliance has accused the ANC and the government of moving too fast, and warned the country was heading for a dangerous showdown if the alliance was left behind; and
- A summit of leaders. The alliance is demanding a summit of leaders to deal with unresolved issues and chart the constitutional road. The ANC rejected the summit call at Monday's failed bilateral with the FA.

The government team which met the alliance on Thursday included: Mr Meyer, also minister of constitutional development; senior National Party negotiators Dr Dawie de Villiers, minister of state and public enterprises, and Manpower Minister Leon Wessels; Mr Schutte; Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel; and Land and Regional Affairs Minister Andre Fourie.

The alliance team included: Mr Cronje, Inkatha Freedom Party National Chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose, Mickey Webb of Ciskei, Fanie Jacobs of the Conservative Party, and Gen Tienie Groenewald of the Afrikaner Volksfront.

NP, ANC Officials Report 'Constructive and Fruitful' Talks

*MB2710145693 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1342 GMT 27 Oct 93*

[By Pierre Claassen]

[Text] Cape Town Oct 27 SAPA—National Party [NP]/ government and African National Congress [ANC] negotiators have agreed to a further round of bilateral talks on Friday after reporting constructive and fruitful discussions at the conclusion of a two-day bush summit. The two chief negotiators, Constitutional development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC Secretary General Cyril Ramaphosa, issued a brief joint statement saying their meeting had been constructive and would certainly take the process forward. They would report to the multiparty negotiations planning committee on Thursday.

The meeting was intended to aid progress on specific issues in the draft constitution. The bush conference started on Monday night and continued well past its scheduled lunch-time completion on Wednesday.

Mr Meyer, his ministerial negotiating ministers and aides are scheduled to return to Pretoria's Waterkloof base late on Wednesday afternoon, government sources said. They would be left with little time to brief the weekly cabinet meeting or prepare for the scheduled 6PM start of a further crucial round of talks with the Freedom Alliance.

The issues identified as specific problems on which the NP/government negotiators say they need agreement, include:

- clear powersharing (as opposed to co-option) at executive level in a government of national unity with special powers for Mr De Klerk as leader of the "second majority" party and vice-president;
- a credible deadlock-breaking mechanism on the second phase revision of the constitution by an elected parliament;
- firming up bill of rights protection of property rights;
- the composition of the constitutional court; and
- firm regional boundaries and regional governmental powers.

Democratic Party Accuses ANC, COSATU of Bad Faith

MB2710124193 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1112 GMT 27 Oct 93

[Text] Cape Town Oct 27 SAPA—The antics of the Congress of South African Trade Unions [COSATU] and the African National Congress [ANC] over the clause in the proposed bill of rights allowing employers the right to lock-out cast grave doubts on the good faith of the ANC as a whole, Democratic Party [DP] justice spokesman Tony Leon said on Wednesday.

"It was COSATU and the ANC which demanded the inclusion of the right to strike in the bill and then agreed—without dissent—to the inclusion of the reciprocal right to lock-out," he said in a statement. "The clause in dispute was unanimously agreed to by the Negotiations Council over three weeks ago, with the full and unambiguous backing of the ANC, South African Communist Party [SACP] and, indeed, COSATU whose legal representative sat in for the SACP during the relevant discussions.

The antics of COSATU and the ANC over this clause and the threat of a national strike represents a stunning display of bad faith by the tripartite alliance."

The question had to be asked of the ANC if anyone was in charge of the organisation and whether its agreement

on anything at the multiparty negotiations constituted a solemn undertaking or simply a basis for further negotiations.

Mr Leon said the DP always had extensive reservations about entrenching either the right to strike or the right to lock-out in the bill of rights, rather than being included in ordinary legislation. "The rampant, undemocratic unionism represents a grave danger to the emergence of a new South Africa. After all, if COSATU can call a national strike over an issue to which it agreed—and do so without balloting its members—what hope do we have of ever establishing a democratic culture in the country as a whole?"

DP's De Beer Criticizes Buthelezi's Zulu Nationalism

MB2710171093 Umtata Capital Radio in English 0500 GMT 27 Oct 93

[Text] Democratic Party [DP] leader Zach de Beer says there is still good chance elections will take place next April. He told a meeting in Cape Town yesterday that all parties at the negotiating table are doing their best to complete the work so that elections can be held on time. De Beer says the DP will fight the election on a platform of democracy, peace, clean government, and jobs, and he accused Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi of talking Zulu nationalism instead of democracy.

[Begin De Beer recording] But I mention this in order to note that the chief minister today is talking Zulu nationalism instead of democracy, and people who believe in individuals don't talk Zulu nationalism, or Xhosa nationalism, or any other kind of group nationalism. People who believe in the individual talk about freedom and talk about democracy. [end recording]

Kriel Accused of Steering Country to 'Brink of Civil War'

MB2710140093 Umtata Capital Radio in English 1100 GMT 27 Oct 93

[Text] President of the Police and Prison's Civil Rights Union, Popcru, Gregory Rockman, has accused Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel of steering the country to the brink of civil war. Rockman says Kriel is not addressing grievances of black officers. He has also accused Kriel of unilaterally restructuring the police force. Beverly Garson reports:

Popcru President Gregory Rockman today warned that police officers in our country are ready to embark on a national strike. He says the decision to strike is pending on the resolution of the police crisis in Port Elizabeth by Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel, as well as the setting up of a national public inquiry into the grievances of the black police officers. Rockman was responding to a statement by Minister Kriel yesterday. The minister criticized Popcru's relationship with the ANC, while making numerous concessions around the permanent

appointment of assistant and municipal police officers to positions in the force. The minister, however, did not address the policing crisis in Port Elizabeth. Rockman says this indicates insensitivity on the part of the minister toward the community.

National Party 'Satisfied' With Terreblanche's Sentence

MB2710180093 Johannesburg SAPA in Afrikaans 1620 GMT 27 Oct 93

["National Party statement" issued by the "Transvaal information officer," Brigadier Kobus Bosman, member of parliament, on 27 October on the SAPA PR Wire Service]

(Text) The National Party takes note of the verdict and sentence imposed on Mr. Terreblanche, leader of the AWB [Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging; Afrikaner Resistance Movement], in the "Battle of Ventersdorp case." Although the National Party would like to see stiffer sentences imposed in cases of violence—which also includes political violence—the National Party does not question the integrity of the administration of justice and the South African judiciary.

It is important that the AWB and other radical grouping now take note of the sentence passed. Such a sentence must be seen in the light of the inciting and emotional utterances by radical political leaders over the past few years. It is high time that such leaders are called to order and accountability.

For that reason the National Party is satisfied that the administration of justice took its full course. Political leaders must also see today's sentence in that light. Innocent people had to die before Mr. Terreblanche and his people could be called to order.

The National Party trusts that other political leaders will experience a change of heart before more people die in the heat and the emotion of the moment.

SADF-MK Talks Deadlock Over Assembly Points Control

MB2710115393 Johannesburg THE STAR in English 27 Oct 93 p 3

[Report by Esther Waugh]

[Text] Talks between the SADF [South African Defense Force] and Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation; ANC military wing] (MK) have deadlocked over the control of assembly points.

These discussions were to lead to the establishment of a multiparty committee which would have done the "pre-planning" before the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) sub-council on defence was established. The multiparty committee was agreed to in September at an ANC

[African National Congress]-Government meeting before the Negotiating Council agreed to the draft TEC Bill.

However, the multiparty committee has not been established because the MK-SADF talks ran into trouble. At discussions with MK senior officers, SADF generals proposed that the defence force provide the security for demobilised cadres at the assembly points proposed in the TEC Act.

It is understood that the SADF further proposed that it administer the assembly points. Sources told THE STAR that the defence force said at the previous meeting three weeks ago that MK soldiers would not be allowed to bring their own weapons into these camps. The TEC Act, however, provides for all armed formations to administer themselves in the assembly points. The talks are understood to have broken down after MK rejected the SADF position.

ANC Members Charge Investigating Police With Assault

MB2710151393 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1410 GMT 27 Oct 93

[Text] Durban Oct 27 SAPA—Four African National Congress [ANC] supporters have laid assault charges against the South African Police [SAP], claiming to have been detained and beaten in connection with the recent killing of two Kokstad policemen.

Durban SAP spokesman Col Bill Dennis confirmed the charges had been laid. "They are being investigated and the results of the investigation will be forwarded to the attorney-general," he said on Wednesday.

Transkei Deputy ANC Chairman Dr Shabir Moosa said five people—four of them ANC supporters—had been detained in the past week and assaulted during questioning on the murders of the two Kokstad policemen. Constables B N Ngubo and E M Mbhele were abducted from the Bhongweni police station about 10 days ago and their bodies were later found 11km inside Transkei.

Police reports said the word "APLA" [Azanian People's Liberation Army]—the Pan Africanist Congress' military wing—had been scribbled on a book in the police station and on its walls. Dr Moosa said four ANC supporters were detained on Friday and held for about 72 hours. "They were questioned, beaten up and released. They were not charged," he said. One of the suspects had a "severe" back injury as a result. Another ANC member was detained on Monday, assaulted and released later that night, Dr Moosa claimed.

Hit Squad Allegedly Targets Transkei ANC Members

MB2710160393 Umtata Capital Radio in English 1500 GMT 27 Oct 93

[Text] Two senior ANC [African National Congress] Transkei officials have been targeted in mysterious gun

attacks in the past month. As Andrew Trench reports, the ANC believes the attacks could involve a hit squad:

Transkei ANC media officer Nat Serache and Transkei ANC Chairman David Ndawonde had both been attacked at their homes on the 3d of last month. The most recent attack was against Serache last weekend. Serache said that he saw a man pointing his assault rifle at (word indistinct). Serache now says he is certain a hit squad is operating in the homeland targeting ANC leaders, but the authorities are not so sure. Transkei police spokesman Major General Nzoli Ngobenkomo cannot say whether the attacks are the work of a hit squad. He says police are not yet probing the possibility the two attacks may be linked. A Transkei deputy head of military intelligence, (Jenezana Khwayi), says he has no information which would suggest a campaign against Transkei ANC leaders. He dismisses claims of hit squad involvement as speculation.

Police Investigate MK Training in Durban Townships

MB2710161093 Johannesburg Radio South Africa Network in English 1500 GMT 27 Oct 93

[Text] The police have confirmed that they are investigating alleged training of Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation, MK, the military wing of the African National Congress, ANC] cadres in townships near Durban. The investigation follows claims by Inkatha Freedom party spokesman Frank Mdlalose that the ANC was conducting military training at locations in the kwaMashu and Umlazi areas.

A police spokesman, Colonel Bill Dennis, told our Durban news staff that the investigations would determine whether any crime had been committed. The ANC has admitted that it is preparing MK cadres for inclusion in the proposed new peace-keeping force.

'Strong Police Presence' Planned for COSATU March 28 Oct

MB2710164893 Johannesburg Radio South Africa Network in English 1500 GMT 27 Oct 93

[Text] A strong police presence is planned for tomorrow's scheduled COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions] march on the World Trade Center in Kempton Park. A police spokesman, Lieutenant Deon Peens, said members of the Internal Stability Unit would be deployed at the center, while policemen and Defense Force members would stand by to maintain law and order. Police dogs, water cannon, and razor wire would be used to prevent marchers from getting out of hand. Lt. Peens said that no one would be allowed into the building, and that the police would monitor the situation.

Situation 'Normalized' After Prison Riot in Pretoria

MB2810054693 Johannesburg SAPA in English 2023 GMT 27 Oct 93

[Text] Pretoria Oct 27 SAPA—A riot in Pretoria Prison on Wednesday, during which convicts set fire to their cells, led to 13 prisoners and a warden being admitted to the city's provincial hospital in serious conditions, said Correctional Services spokesman Lt Rudi Potgieter. He said that in the late afternoon prisoners overpowered three warders and took possession of a teargas cannister and a set of keys before locking themselves up their cells. When help arrived they continued to resist warders and blocked the entrances with beds, then set them alight, said Lt Potgieter.

"To prevent loss of life, warders had no alternative and forcibly opened the doors. Despite the fires, the prisoners still resisted," he said. In the ensuing violence, warders were stabbed with home-made weapons and prisoners belonging to opposing gangs were also injured in a free-for-all in the corridor.

The situation later normalised, added Lt Potgieter.

PAC's Barney Desai Regains South African Citizenship

MB2710162593 Johannesburg Radio South Africa Network in English 1100 GMT 27 Oct 93

[Text] One of the members of the Negotiating Council, Mr. Barney Desai of the PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress], has regained his South African citizenship after 23 years. Mr. Desai thanked Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte in the Negotiating Council this morning for the reissue of identity documents and the restoration of full citizenship. Mr. Desai told our political news staff that he found it difficult during his exile in England to be without official travel documents. He eventually accepted British citizenship.

South African Press Review for 28 Oct

MB2810135893

[Editorial Report]

THE STAR

Energy Affairs Policy Leaves Citizens 'Bemused'— "George Bartlett's Mineral and Energy Affairs could take a leaf out of the ostrich industry's book and opt for deregulation," says a page 18 editorial in Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 28 October. "Yet the decision to penalise Pick 'n Pay for having the audacity to pre-empt a lower petrol price is at least consistent with a departmental policy which has left much of the country's citizenry bemused—and very angry."

BUSINESS DAY

Bank Rate Reduction Investment Lure—"Of all the lures South Africa is deploying to attract foreign investors, one of the most effective may be one of the least evident," begins a page 18 editorial in Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 28 October. "To the frustration of some and the impatience of many, the level of official short-term interest rates continues to be assessed largely in isolation from the big domestic issues of the day. The decision as to whether monetary conditions justified another reduction in Bank rate was taken well away from the hurly-burly of transitional politics and the excited search for recovery signals in the real economy. As it has been for the past four years, the quest for medium-term financial stability was the main consideration against which yesterday's cut in Bank rate was measured."

SOWETAN

Zulu King 'Tainted' By IFP Politicians—"We would have thought the King of the Zulus should never become part of the political power game," begins a page 10 editorial in Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 28 October. The king's refusal to attend the "SonV?" festival, "which was attended by several kings and traditional leaders, raises a number of serious questions. It can be argued that the fact that this event was organised by the ANC [African National Congress] was a political act in itself. In fact we are almost certain that is the reading the IFP [Inkatha Freedom Party] placed on it. The fact, too, that there were attempts to discourage people from attending, reinforces that suspicion. If Zwelithini was not in thrall to or, as it seems, influenced by the IFP, he would have exercised his royal prerogative to attend and perhaps re-affirm the flagging Zulu solidarity. There is no doubt that Zwelithini has allowed himself to be tainted by the politicians in the IFP."

*Role of NP in Negotiations Process Analyzed

93AF0828B Johannesburg WORK IN PROGRESS in English Aug 93 pp 26-29

[Article by Hein Marais: "Adventures in the Wild: 'First Stop—The World Trade Center'"; first paragraph is WORK IN PROGRESS introduction; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Is the National Party's [NP-Nats] 'new realism' at the negotiating table for real? Do the Nats know where their negotiators are? Is that a deal we see around the next corner? How many Nats does it take to change a system? Questions, questions, questions.

A pack of men agree to drive a load of unstable nitroglycerine through the South American jungle, each chased by their own ghosts and spurred by fearsome ambition. Together they're a mix of fellowship and desperation. They cross swollen rivers, rickety bridges and crumbling mountain passes. They double-cross each

other at every other turn. All the while, the cargo shakes and rattles, on the verge of turning into a fireball.

The plot belongs to *Wages of Fear*, Henri-Georges Clouzot's 1946 movie classic. The film belongs wherever the negotiators go, as a kind of permanent installation: as soon as the smell of deadlock rises, delegates are marched to the screening room, made to sit down and watch.

They can call it the Reality Chamber.

With the draft interim constitution out, there is a lot of talk about "reality setting in", "a sense of urgency" spurring the negotiators towards a settlement. From here on, it's downhill. The trick now is to keep Inkatha, the KwaZulu government and the Conservative Party (CP) on board.

But it's not going to be easy. Ahead lies the roughest part of the peace process, dotted with deadlocks, disorder and deferred conflicts.

Bearing down on it is a troop of daredevils—Inkatha, the CP—that drive on the wild side to make a point. There's an ANC [African National Congress] that's made more concessions than most observers and supporters thought it could survive. And there's a factious and frazzled NP—determined to clinch a deal to ensure that much of the old order becomes part of the new, but uncertain what it should look like.

The concession that set things rolling in late June was the government's apparent abandonment of its demand for entrenched power-sharing (PS for short). From across the negotiating table, says an ANC insider, the Nats appeared to drop *permanent* PS as early as March. Then President De Klerk punted it back onto the table in his FINANCIAL TIMES interview in June. For a couple of days Nat officials were talking out of both sides of their mouths. Then the NP negotiators Tipped out all references to PS in their submissions at the World Trade Centre. And De Klerk announced from Austria that, no, five years of PS are just dandy, thank you.

So have they really rolled this boulder out of the way?

An answer actually doesn't take us far, but it begs a set of more fundamental questions that cast more light on the road ahead. Like...

- Who are "they"?
- Has the NP found other tools to do the job of permanent PS?
- Does an official retreat mean that PS ends in 1999?

First, "they" are a motley bunch: united by convenience and a foggy common purpose, divided by anxiety, habit and ambition. There are talking heads and wagging tails—the relationships between them are not altogether clear. We return to this later.

The second question. Permanent PS was a means to an end. The major thrust of the Nat reform programme has

not been to keep white racists happy (it long ago ceded that responsibility to the white Right), but to keep or revamp SA [South Africa] as a place where "good business" can be done and its fruits enjoyed. Some Nats hoped for a settlement that would strap the ANC and its allies in snugly as junior partners in a new order. They rested their hopes on the swollen whimsy and exaggerated sense of ability that decades of authoritarian rule tends to produce.

Others understood this was impossible. An ANC government's ability to push beyond the barriers of "managed change" had to be limited by a variety of mechanisms. Permanent PS was an important short-cut to achieving this.

ANC negotiators seem pretty bullish and proud nowadays, confident they've stepped clear of that trap. "Our scenario for the transition has become the accepted scenario," says top negotiator Mohammed Valli Moosa.

But a scenario that *looks* like the ANC's, does not necessarily deliver what it wants. Form is not content. The ANC, for example, has its elected constituent assembly. Yet that body's hands are being tied already as the multiparty forum lays down the principles it will have to heed.

That there is still a peace process to write about is due largely to the ANC's flexibility at the bargaining table, which stems both from the prevailing balance of forces and from its belief that there is no other route around disaster.

The Nats, however, have feigned a lot of compromises—submitting to changes in form and process, but staying either unwilling or unable to trade fairly when the hat is passed around. (Doom talk? Take a closer look at some of the bills whisked through in the most recent sitting of Parliament). Here's part of what they've wheedled out of the ANC so far this year:

- No majority rule or full democracy until 1999, with a fair chance that it can be postponed further.
- Agreement on a system that is not quite federalism, but very close.
- Allowing an unelected negotiating forum to set constitutional principles that bind the elected constituent assembly when it draws up a new constitution.

These are some of the straps that will tie down the ANC in government. The sales pitch Roelf Meyer and co. are laying on NP supporters is that these features do what power-sharing was meant to do. But it's not at all clear whether even his own caucus buys that hook, line and sinker.

Third question. The ANC submitted to five years' PS until 1999 because it knows it cannot govern SA alone—not with a civil service hogged by nervous and hostile whites; an army that was devoted to crushing the organisation it will now have to serve; a police force caught somewhere between "private army" and public service.

But what if, as Center for Policy Studies director Steve Friedman asks, the Nats could persuasively argue in six years' time that the conditions which proposed the sunset clause had not really changed? "The civil service and the shooters are still itchy, but they trust us—keeping us on-board can make life a lot easier?"

Or there's a less Machiavellian route. No matter what Nat cheerleaders say, they know they won't win the first democratic election. But some of them do believe they can have a fair crack at winning the 1999 vote or running a close second.

Now imagine. ANC election promises lie wheezing on a heap of failed policies and failures of will. The experience is magnified by a hostile media, and contrasted with the relatively "happier" fate of a couple of states or provinces run by NP regional governments (Western Cape, maybe Natal with Inkatha, and the Northern Cape). The 1999 vote sees the ANC and NP outspurt their rivals, but not a lot separates them from each other. The ANC can form a minority government but is hesitant. The NP proposes PS, only it calls it a coalition government. It says: "Don't fret, this time it's not a deal cut in Kempton Park, it's the will of the voters."

The Nats never pretended negotiations were a going-out-of-business sale, did they?

Hooked on each other

At the symbolic level, ANC-NP relations look like a sort of gentlemanly duel. A bit of cut and thrust, a lot of smiles and handshakes.

But the relationship is ambivalent—at two levels. First, these are two foes locked into a mutual dependency. The one cannot rule without the other, now or in the foreseeable future; each needs the other, to do the deal. Secondly, the current rough consensus has little currency beyond a handful of ANC and NP top rankers. This problem is particularly acute within the NP—which brings us back to that question, "Who is this 'they' that is finessing the deal?"

Let's assume the Nat avant-garde (Dawie de Villiers, Roelf Meyer, Leon Wessels and their patron, De Klerk) have done a deal with the ANC leadership, a give-and-take shuffle to prevent matters from turning too unpleasant. There's not a lot of detail, but they've pencilled in a basic outline. Both parties are relatively happy, no-one's ecstatic.

The hole in this plot is the fact that the deal is done by the avant-garde of the two parties. And they're separated from their constituencies either by party culture or by the dynamics of negotiations.

The ANC has sold to its members some stupendous compromises already—from the suspension of armed struggle to the postponement of majority rule to the end

of the century. No matter how conciliatory or spooked its negotiators might now be made to feel, there's not a lot more they can concede.

Constituency problem

But it's the NP that is stricken with the biggest "constituency problem". Says Friedman: "The biggest danger to the transition right now is the political weakness of the NP," he says (see box [not reproduced]).

Even with the Nat caucus, "new-agers" like Meyer will not walk off with the most-popular-guy-in-class prize. Breathing down their necks are survivors from the *Krokkedil's* reign, ideologues with careers on the line, incompetents addicted to power and the good life, securocrats nervous about human rights probes, and other, even nastier, specimens.

Much of the NP's predicament is compressed into—and read from—the rise of dissent within the caucus. Typically, the lines of tension are said to separate hawks (Hernus Kriel, Kobie Coetzee, Danie Schutte et al) from doves (Roelf Meyer, Dawie de Villiers, Leon Wessels).

It's a deceptive metaphor, because other birds are rattling the cage, too. Some set on feathering their nests, some with their heads in the sand, some with the jitters, and a flock that whistles every tune within earshot.

The Nats are a pretty disparate bunch—united in their belief that a settlement has to be reached, but divided by notions of exactly what that settlement should look like and how it can be achieved.

In the past the party managed to deal with factions, Friedman points out, "by electing strong leaders who decide which one they're going to go with". In De Klerk, the Nats chose a conciliator, good at balancing acts, but poor at laying down the line.

Remember how US and Soviet leaders used to butt heads at the bargaining table and make it look like a piece of courtly theater? Only, in the back of their minds was this awesome awareness of MAD—Mutual Assured Destruction, the thousands of nuclear warheads they had aimed at each other. Like bargaining at the edge of Hell, MAD proponents say it focused minds, discouraged brinkmanship and recommended compromises.

Threats of civil war

We have our own version, only it's really *mad*. And while some minds are focused, others are flapping in the wind. Ulundi's threats of civil war are not idle ones. The far-right is stoking itself up for its bout of orgasmic terror. Like boozers on a binge, the security forces still surrender to the habit of senseless crackdowns that produce inflamed passions rather than prosecutions. Townships are war zones, or worse.

In this atmosphere, our transition rattles and lurches into uncharted parts.

We see, amidst all the hands snatching at the steering wheel, the Nats, still squabbling over where they're heading, bickering about how to get there. We see De Klerk and his avant garde routinely turn to the camera, looking calm as ice cubes on a hotplate, announcing: "Not to worry! Everything's under control!"

We hold our breath.

*Likelihood of Right-Wing Military Coup Examined

93AF0828A Johannesburg WORK IN PROGRESS in English Aug 93 pp 19-22

[Article by Rocky Williams, a member of the Military Research Group: "A Very South African Coup"; first paragraph is WORK IN PROGRESS introduction]

[Text] The SADF's [South African Defense Forces] way of dealing with negotiations. Rightwing big-guns in the SADF are unlikely to confess their sins without a fuss. But just how much fuss can they make? A coup, perhaps?

The sight of a VIPER ARMORED VEHICLE CRASHING THROUGH THE DOORS of the World Trade Centre raised a fear common to most transitional societies—the prospect of a coup.

Almost any transition raises such fears. Hardliners within the state, dissatisfied with their loss of power and the compromises being granted by "softer" negotiators, repeatedly threaten to use their military influence to halt, derail or influence the outcome of negotiations.

Negotiators are thus forced to compromise on key issues to avoid a military counter-reaction. This frequently affects how much can be achieved politically—and the extent to which the state can be restructured.

The same applies with South Africa's transition. Because of concern at the potential for sabotage by elements within both the security establishment and the bureaucracy, the democratic movement has already made concessions in certain key areas.

In addition, certain players in the democratic movement have confused the *interventionist* rhetoric of the rightwing with their *actual physical and mechanical capacity* to mount a coup.

While a future government will undoubtedly face resistance from some sections of the armed forces, we should not overstate the forces' ability to overturn democratic gains (whether through a classical "coup d'etat" or selective intervention).

Developing strategy on the basis of a "worst case" scenario—a coup d'etat for instance—without considering the range of more likely possibilities, will deprive the democratic movement of much its strategic flexibility both in the transition and in the post-settlement period.

1. Forms of military influence: From constitutional channels to coups

Most analyses of the South African Defense Force (SADF) have collapsed its mechanical power—its force levels, its sizeable inventories and its budgetary allocation—into an account of its real or potential power.

The SADF is depicted as marching onto the terrain of the state, establishing its HQ [headquarters] at the political centre and deploying its personnel to all levels of society. Driven by its relentless corporate designs, the SADF proceeds to refashion state and society according to its own military and political objectives.

These accounts of military influence fail to take account of a host of issues relating to the very real limitations imposed on the capacity of the armed forces to intervene in and/or influence the political process.

A range of factors determine military influence—the political culture of a particular society, the legitimacy of central political institutions, the corporate identity of the armed forces, the institutional capabilities of the armed forces should they be called on to govern, their social composition and the nature of relations within the state.

“Intervention”, for instance, is just one type of military influence within politics and is itself characterized by various forms of coercion—violence against the civilian authorities, failure to protect those authorities from violence, threats of non-cooperation and the intimidation and blackmail of the authorities themselves.

However, not all forms of military influence seek to replace the states’ organizational forms, management styles and personnel. Infinitely more problematic is the subtler forms of influence wielded by the armed forces in different societies.

Less visible and less extreme than the Latin-American scenarios are the forms of military influence wielded by the armed forces within countries of a reasonably developed political culture. Indeed, it remains highly unlikely that the present SADF would prove capable of mounting a coup even if its officer corps—or dominant factions therein—desired to do so. Its influence over the political process is less pronounced and less drastic than a coup scenario suggests.

2. To Coup or not to coup

Military coups are rarely mounted by an officer corps in its entirety. Factions within the armed forces—acting on their own or in collaboration with certain political actors—engage in armed intervention. But the decision to intervene is determined by a host of variables—a breakdown in “law and order”, the election of a politically unpopular government, the forging of strong alliances with influential political actors or the nation of the armed forces intervening in the name of “national inter-

A coup scenario is extreme and a range of limiting factors must be considered before a coup can be launched. The factors that can either restrain and/or impel the SADF to intervene are varied:

a) Technical and logistical obstacles

Coups do not simply “happen”—they require ideological cohesion among the plotters.

No coup can be successfully launched without an element of *surprise*. To do so requires the support of ready battalions of loyal troops who can be sworn to secrecy (or isolated from society in the months preceding the coup).

It’s worth noting at this point that the SA [South Africa] Army’s Conventional Forces are largely reservist in origin and would require at least two months’ effective mobilization time (during which the element of surprise could be lost).

In addition, there’s the question of *morale and unity*. Every coup attempt requires the support of the armed forces’ rank and file. In the SADF, the bulk of the combat personnel are either white conscripts, African or colored permanent force members or Citizen Force reservists (white regular army personnel almost exclusively occupy non-combat positions—command and control, administrative and training functions).

Given the high levels of resistance towards conscription, township deployment and external military campaigns, and the ambiguous loyalties of many African and coloured troops, it remains questionable whether either category would be prepared to support—let alone defend—the interventionist ambitions of certain sectors of the officer corps.

And then there is the question of *the neutralisation of adversaries*. In any coup attempt, the SADF would have to deal with a host of adversarial groups, as well as securing key administrative and economic structures.

This is a daunting task in a country with a resilient civil society and a complex infrastructure!

Firstly, the complexity of the South African bureaucracy, the strength and depth of civil society, the dispersed and extended nature of the country’s economic infrastructure and a decentralisation of the national capitals (Pretoria, Cape Town and Bloemfontein) would render the organization of a coup a logistical nightmare.

Furthermore, opposition to a coup would span a range of interests (particularly in a country with a reasonably developed civil culture). Both factors would strongly militate against the success of a coup.

There’s an additional problem for putschists: Do the SADF’s Permanent Force (PF) mustering possess the administrative and technical ability—as well as the political will—to govern? The small size of the PF cadre, coupled with the extensive skills and personnel required

to govern the country, would present an insurmountable bureaucratic and managerial task.

b) Divisions in the officer corps

The SADF is not a homogeneous structure and admits to strategic, political, institutional, ideological and pragmatic differences depending on its musterings, the social origins of its personnel and the different career paths and experiences of its PF cadre.

These differences and contradictions will become more pronounced in periods of political transition and could even lead to factions within the SADF moving in different political directions in periods of political crisis. It seems few officers are prepared to jeopardize career, pension and gratuity benefits for the sake of narrow party political goals. It is, therefore, important to assess the loyalties of the different factions within the SADF senior officer corps, and the extent to which these changing loyalties could impede and/or facilitate a coup scenario.

These factions include:

- The "Constitutionalists"—senior SADF officers who, regardless of their political convictions, will obey the government of the day and desist from intervening in the political process. Undoubtedly the largest faction within the SADF officer corps, these officers tend to be located in the air force, the navy, the medical services, the non-operational staff divisions (chiefs of staff finance and personnel for instance) and the army's conventional forces.

The loyalty of the air force, for example, would prove central in crushing any coup bid—and the loyalty of the present air force general staff appears to be largely anti-interventionist in direction.

- The nascent praetorian faction within the SADF's intelligence community and its elite units. Their tactics include, typically, the fielding of "hit squads", the provision of covert funds to allied political organizations, and the use of their intelligence to discredit certain popular and community leaders. These elements are most strongly represented within the structures of army intelligence, military intelligence and the special forces division (although all three components are being restructured at present).
- Rightwing officers, who constitute a surprisingly small faction within the SADF's permanent force (although they are certainly more numerous in its conscript ranks). This has much to do with the image of the SADF as the "military-as-modernisers" and the strong ascriptive ties that have linked it with the National Party in the past. It is important to note that most mainstream rightwing officers *do not support* intervention of the coup d'etat variety—a result, no doubt, of the strong constitutionalist ethos within such organizations as the Conservative Party and the Herstigte Nasionale Party. Even General Constand Viljoen has emphasised, at the height of rightwing

anger, the need for moderation, negotiation and non-violent action.

Therefore, despite the presence of a nascent praetorian faction within the SADF, the bulk of the officer corps inclines in a constitutionalist direction. Given their key strategic location (the air force and the conventional forces, for example), they would render any coup attempt virtually ineffective from the start.

Feel Safe? Read on...

On the basis of the evidence above, a coup appears to be a highly improbable prospect in a diverse and institutionally complex country like South Africa.

But to predict strategies on the basis of this is to fail to understand the precise contours of military influence—and, as a result, to devise responses that are inherently flawed.

South Africa is undergoing profound political transition and many of the variables that have restrained the SADF from exercising a more assertive role in the political process are, and will be, subject to revision. In the fluidity and instability of such a transition, the SADF may find itself exercising its influence through a number of formal and informal mechanisms.

Although this may not follow the lines of the classical coup d'etat, it may assume "lower" forms of military involvement in the process. Potential factors which are impelling the SADF, or factions therein, to consider more direct involvement in the political process include:

- The fact that the armed forces reflect the social divisions, fissures and cleavages of South African society. Already sectors of the armed forces (both serving and retired) are attempting to use their military experience and skills to favor specific party-political interests (the so-called "Committee of Generals" for instance).
- The high level of civil violence within the country (aided and abetted by a variety of renegade elements within the security forces) may impel the armed forces into acting more decisively in ensuring the maintenance of "law and order" and the preservation of "national interest". Although not tantamount to a coup, a "blackmail" position like this could slow down the process of negotiations (that is, however, very much a "worst case" scenario).

Within this scenario, a number of options could be considered. These include the selective assassination and "removal" of anti-state activists from the community, the provision of funds for "sympathetic" pro-state or SADF organisations, the discrediting of key leaders and local destabilisation—something which is already happening in the rural areas.

Although this type of influence is obviously less effective than a coup d'etat, it remains difficult to control or

anticipate given its "invisibility". A coup is highly visible and remains an easier target against which to organize. Covert action remains somewhat less tangible and requires, as a consequence, a specific set of measures to address it.

3. Creating a democratic hegemony in the armed forces

The recurring spectre of military involvement in the political process can be addressed on two levels. The first involves the institutional *restructuring of the armed forces themselves* (imperative in light of the changing domestic, regional and international threat scenarios). The second involves the *organisation of a democratic hegemony within the armed forces*.

a) Limiting the power of the praetorians

The influence of intervention-inclined sectors of the SADF could, potentially, be constrained by a number of measures. These include:

- Redefining the SADF's roles and missions: The army must no longer be used as an urban counter-insurgency unit. This will reduce its influence in local government and its tactical intelligence brief (the latter being the source of many "third force" activities). The primary mission of the armed forces, particularly during a transition, should be externally oriented and narrow—primarily the preservation of the territorial sovereignty of the country.
- Restructuring the SADF's intelligence structures: Limiting SADF intelligence to an external intelligence brief will prevent it from involving itself in domestic issues (and with it the temptation to pursue its own political agenda).
- Judiciously reshuffling contentious officers: Whilst not summarily dismissing such personnel (unless irrefutable evidence exists to the contrary) they could be appointed in non-contentious staff positions or used in training and non-combatant positions.
- Introducing effective forms of budgetary, parliamentary and legal oversight over the armed forces (see box [not reproduced]). This transparency and accountability will prevent the armed forces from conspiring against the civilian and political authorities.

b) Building a post-apartheid defence force

It is vital to build a broad-based hegemony within a future officer corps around the general principles underpinning a post-settlement South Africa.

Possible candidates could include:

- MK [Umkhonto we Sizwe-Spear of the Nation] officers who, given their history of political accountability and subordination to the political executive of the ANC [African National Congress], can be expected (in most cases) to abide by a new constitution.

- Democratically-minded officers from the homeland armies who are prepared to uphold and respect the constitution.
- Constitutionally-oriented officers from the SADF.

It is important to stress, however, that the organization of such a hegemony among democratic and constitutional officers should be done in a way that avoids undermining both the professionalism and the roles and missions of the armed forces.

But make no mistake—the influence of such a bloc of officers will play a vital role in limiting the influence of more reactionary officers.

* Local Markets Opening Up to Russian Companies

94AF0015C Johannesburg *ENGINEERING NEWS in English* 24-30 Sep 93 pp 1, 2

[Article by Richard Bartlett: "Russian Expertise Hits SA (South African) Market"]

[Text] Former state-controlled organisations from Russia—one with up to one-million employees—are seeking to market their expertise in South Africa.

A South African consortium of FAF Intertrade and G. Tashisumi has established links in Russia and is reportedly negotiating with Eskom [Electricity Supply Commission] to help reconstruct the Cahora Bassa line in Mozambique, says FAF Intertrade director Francois Reyneke.

Russian company Uniexpl, former by former Soviet army experts, may use its expertise to remove the landmines which are preventing work on the line, he says.

This could be done in conjunction with one of Russia's largest companies and former flagbearer of the Soviet government's foreign operations, Zarubezhstroimontazh (ZSM).

A pre-qualification bid for removal of the landmines has been accepted by Eskom, says Reyneke.

Zarubezhenergostroy is negotiating to submit a pre-qualification bid for the construction of the pylons and laying of the transmission lines, says Reyneke.

This company specialises in construction of power lines and has built the trans-Siberia line which stretches from one side of Russia to the other, he says.

Through the Russian Ministry of Civil Aviation it will have access to helicopters with a 26t payload. This will make it easy to construct the line in areas with difficult access, says G. Tashisumi MD Misha Kramer.

ZSM has constructed major turnkey projects in 49 countries. These range from full-scale metallurgical plants in Nigeria and Algeria to glass works in Algeria, a bauxite mining complex in Guinea and hospitals in various countries.

It has one-million employees, has completed more than 400 major projects outside Russia and has access to 50 research and development institutes in Russia.

ZSM, in conjunction with Ukrenergohermet, has also been invited to submit pre-qualification tenders for a pulverised coal injection system at Iscor [South African Iron and Steel Corporation], says Reyneke.

While ZSM, together with Rosneftegazstroy (RNGS), submitted pre-qualification tenders for Sasol's 120km Secunda to Middleburg gas pipeline, Sasol's decision to use local expertise precluded Russian involvement.

RNGS and ZSM are presently constructing a 5,000km gas pipeline from Russia to Greece and have previously laid over 300,000 km of pipeline.

To facilitate the two-way trade of goods and services between Russia and South Africa a delegation from Russia's fifth largest bank, the East West Investment Bank, was in South Africa last week to meet local bankers and formalise banking links between the two countries. The delegation is being hosted by FAF Intertrade and G. Tashisumi.

G. Tashisumi is an export/import company with links through sub-Saharan Africa and Russia, says Kramer.

It is part of the Triplex group which has interests in light engineering, mechanical and electrical engineering and lighting through the company OR Lighting, he says.

*** Soweto: Urban Development Projects Detailed**

94AF0015B Johannesburg *ENGINEERING NEWS* in English 24-30 Sep 93 pp 1, 2

[Article by Richard Bartlett]

[Text] Contractors in Soweto can look forward to a long-term boost following the approval of R[ands]40-million worth of urban development projects in the area using community-based construction methods.

The funds have been loaned to the Central Witwatersrand Regional Services Council (CWRSC) by the Development Bank of Southern Africa (DBSA) for 11 projects in the Diepmeadow, Dobsonville, Ennerdale and Soweto municipalities.

In Soweto, the largest project is the replacement of mid-block secondary water mains on which R9-million is to be spent before July 1994.

Other projects include the R6-million upgrade of primary water mains, the R5-million upgrade of residential roads and R4-million worth of plumbing within erven.

The two Diepmeadow projects are the upgrading of services in Diepkloof zone 1 for R2.5-million and in Meadowlands zone 7 for R3-million.

In Dobsonville, the upgrading of roads and stormwater drainage is costing R3.5-million, while in Ennerdale, stormwater drainage is costing R1-million.

All of the projects will use community-based construction which goes further than labour-based and labour-intensive methods by using the labour-based approach to promote the emergence of local entrepreneurs.

Labour-intensive construction, on the other hand, seeks only to maximise utilisation of labour instead of plant, and labour-based construction goes only so far as to adapt the technology used according to manual construction methods, explains Ron Watermeyer of Soderlund and Schutte consulting Engineers.

The construction process in community-based methods follows a professional team approach through which professionals assist local labour-based contractors with the administration and financing of their contracts, offer technical training, engage specialist contractors and supply the necessary materials and equipment.

At the same time, the professional team employs and trains members of the local community to run stores facilities, monitor progress and assist with administration, says Watermeyer.

Local entrepreneurs must have adequate technical, commercial and financial support and instruction so that they can become fully-fledged contractors, he says.

Unlike labour-intensive methods, which are generally restricted to rural road construction and excavation for projects such as pipelines, the community-based method has been applied in South Africa to projects such as laying of residential roads in Soweto using waterbound macadam base courses, water and sewerage reticulation in Sandton and the laying of 187km of below-ground, low-voltage electrical cables to erven in Port Elizabeth.

A cost comparison made in Soweto of 460m of 160mm diameter primary water mains piping showed that labour-intensive methods were substantially more expensive than either plant-based or community-based methods and community-based methods were slightly cheaper than plant-based, he says.

Angola**UNITA Said Close To Resuming Direct Peace Talks***LD2710234593 Lisbon RDP Antena 1 Radio Network in Portuguese 2300 GMT 27 Oct 93*

[Excerpts] Angola is a mere step away from a resumption of direct peace talks. The government is satisfied with the explanations provided by the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] to UN representatives. [passage omitted] Here are the details from Walter Medeiros:

[Medeiros] President Jose Eduardo dos Santos has already received in Luanda from Lusaka a fax with the result of the contacts between Alioune Beye, the international observers, and UNITA. An official Angolan source this evening assured us that UNITA has accepted the three conditions set by the Angolan Government, to wit the unambiguous acceptance of the validity of the Bicesse peace accords, of the 1992 election results, and of the UN Security Council resolutions.

The same source added that in view of UNITA's present stance the conditions have been created for the earliest return to the negotiating table. However it will be necessary to wait for the 1 November meeting of the UN Security Council on Angola.

In Lusaka UNITA has undertaken to discuss with the government the ways and means of vacating parts of the territory it currently holds, as well as its own demilitarization and its transformation into a political party with no armed wing. [passage omitted]

Foreign Minister Optimistic About Resumption of Talks*LD2710230293 Lisbon Radio Renascenca in Portuguese to Europe 2200 GMT 27 Oct 93*

[Excerpt] Angola: An optimistic [Angolan Foreign Minister] Venancio de Moura has said that the Lusaka meetings between the Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA], the UN, and the observers' troika [Portugal, the United States, Russia] are going well. The Angolan foreign minister was speaking during a stopover in Lisbon on his way to New York. Although brief, the stopover enabled him to meet with [Portuguese Foreign Minister] Durao Barroso and to tell the Portuguese media that the Angolan Government is willing to return to the negotiating table with UNITA. Angela Roque reports:

[Roque] The Lusaka meetings are progressing favorably: This was the view expressed by Venancio de Moura during his stopover in Lisbon this evening. The Angolan foreign minister assured the media that Luanda wants to go back to the negotiations table as soon as UNITA clarifies some lingering doubts over its communique of 6 October:

[Begin De Moura recording] Obviously, provided that the elaboration, or clarification, is now forthcoming of what we viewed as ambiguous or contradictory stands adopted by UNITA, and provided that the legal framework is laid down, then of course we shall again return to the negotiations. This is our goal so that peace may be restored in Angola. [end recording]

The Angolan foreign minister was speaking after a brief meeting with Durao Barroso. [passage omitted]

RSA Dismisses Allegations of Support for UNITA*MB2810065793 Umtata Capital Radio in English 0500 GMT 28 Oct 93*

[Text] Pretoria has challenged the Angolan Government to provide evidence to back its accusation that South Africa is providing logistical support to UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola].

The South African mission in Angola says in a statement it is supporting all United Nations Security Council decisions on Angola. This includes the arms and fuel embargo imposed on UNITA by the UN. The statement says spineless and vague accusations about South Africa backing the rebel movement have been reported in pro-Angolan newspapers but says no documentary proof has been shown to the South African Government.

The statement has dismissed as ridiculous an allegation by Angola's Deputy Foreign Minister Jorge Chikoty that South African Air Force pilots have signed up with UNITA.

Government Official on UNITA Attacks in Various Areas*MB2710193593 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 1900 GMT 27 Oct 93*

[Text] New threats of war loom over many parts of the country. Brigadier Jota, spokesman for the Angolan Armed Forces [FAA] General Staff, has told Radio France International that the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] has been attacking various government positions, thereby contravening its own unilateral cease-fire.

[Begin Jota recording] We see that the UNITA has been on a counteroffensive in an attempt to occupy new military positions (?in central Angola), which is attracting much attention. UNITA has taken the initiative, and it is attacking all government positions near those areas that are regarded as crucial for the defense of the Central Plateau. UNITA has been saying that it is willing to cease fire, hold talks with the government, and find ways to arrive at an understanding so we can achieve peace. In practice, though, UNITA's behavior is different. [end recording]

Lesotho

Prime Minister Returns From Cyprus Summit

MB2710175893 Maseru Radio Lesotho in English 1600 GMT 27 Oct 93

[Text] The prime minister, the Right Honorable Dr. Ntsu Mokhehle, arrived in Lesotho today from the Commonwealth heads of government conference in Limassol, Cyprus. He was welcomed at the international airport by cabinet ministers, parliamentarians, senators, judges of the high court, diplomatic corps, senior government officials, and the public.

While in Cyprus, the prime minister met Queen Elizabeth II and the British minister for overseas development, Baroness Lynda Chalker. The heads of government supported the United Nations and other international organizations engaged in the search for peace, security, and economic development, and condemned terrorism in all its forms.

Mozambique

Government Says Burundi Coup Hinders Democracy Efforts

MB2710164593 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1500 GMT 27 Oct 93

[Text] The Mozambican Government has condemned the military coup d'etat in Burundi. Mozambican Foreign Affairs Minister Pascoal Mocumbi has said that that event has negative implications for Africa's democratization process and added that the perpetrators of the coup are swimming against the tide of democratization in Africa.

Addressing a news conference, Mocumbi noted that the Burundi coup d'etat is a disappointment to Africa and to the world. He added that Africa's economic partners would have liked to see Africa strengthen its democratization.

Chissano Receives Sudanese Envoy, Message

MB2710155693 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1500 GMT 27 Oct 93

[Text] President of the Republic Joaquim Chissano this morning granted an audience to [name indistinct], Zimbabwe-based ambassador to Mozambique, and to the special envoy of Sudanese President Umar al-Bashir. The Sudanese official delivered a (?special) message to the Mozambican head of state. According to a source close to that Sudanese diplomat, that message focuses on bilateral cooperation [words indistinct].

*Conditions in Niassa Provincial Hospital Viewed

93WE0595Z Maputo TEMPO in Portuguese
15 Aug 93 pp 26-31

[Article by Fernando Manuel: "We Are Getting Increasingly Worse Off, Thank You..."]

[Text] In Lichinga, in Niassa, more people die from fear of getting sick than from illness itself. And it is no wonder. The provincial hospital, including the resources with which it operates, and the way it looks do not make it very recommendable. All that remains now is the hope that a year from now the situation will change as a result of a project with Skillshare Africa.

It is a tragic litany that the locals, without regard to their condition, can recite by heart, with their eyes closed: The provincial hospital of Niassa in Lichinga is a reliable mirror of the isolation and oblivion to which the province has been abandoned. To realize this, all one has to do is take a look around the facilities, see the shriveled faces of the inpatients, the enormous, hopeless bellies of the children, and the resigned disillusionment of their mothers who are there with them.

The wards are always submerged in a dim half-light, with a strong odor of sweat and disease. The hospital's director general, Paulo Fernandes Rodrigues Casimiro, says that the crowning blow, illustrating the dismal situation here, is the fact that "there has been an infiltration of mold in the operating room for a long time now." This is due to cracks in its structure. The entire unit is in need of urgent physical rehabilitation work, something that it has not had since the first stone was laid there in 1945.

In terms of medications, the hospital is operating with just "two injectable antibiotics. Everything else is totally lacking." There are outbreaks of bloody diarrhea, mange, frequent cases of malnutrition among the children, and respiratory infections. Almost all of these diseases can be cured only by chance, since the hospital has not had regular supplies of medications for those diseases for two years.

The provincial hospital of Niassa has a capacity for 180 beds, some two-thirds of which are normally occupied, except at "peak periods" when this capacity is exceeded. The equipment is scarce, obsolete, or out of order because of the lack of one essential component or another. Working under these conditions, and according to Paulo Casimiro, the medical personnel frequently find themselves forced to transfer patients to hospitals in Nampula or Maputo. This occurs "three or four times per month." This is just one more problem to add to others. In fact, "these transfers only serve to overload the already meager budget that the hospital has, since the majority of the transferred patients are poor." The expenses of transferring them are underwritten by the hospital.

The somber and strong-smelling environment that is being experienced in our hospital is due to the fact that it, like the whole city of Lichinga, does not have a supply of electrical energy or running water most of the time. "The dam usually does not have water in the dry period. When it has water, there is not any diesel oil, and even when everything is full, the hospital does not always have high priority," Paulo Casimiro explains. Children have been delivered by lamplight. But that would be the least of the problems for the only four doctors, who serve as jacks-of-all-trades. They are overburdened with work—office visits, emergencies, general clinic, and making the rounds at the hospital.

"After all that," one doctor said, "how many times have we gone back home only to find that we cannot sleep, overwhelmed with remorse by the fact that one of the patients in our care has died, bleeding to death, and we did not have any way to help him?"

For the foreseeable future, the situation can only get worse. Paulo Casimiro told us that there are predictions of great difficulties, now that with peace, people are beginning to flow in in great waves from the districts where it has not previously been possible to reach the provincial capital.

July 1994: Turning of the Page?

If everything goes according to plan, the end of this nightmare could come in July 1994, the deadline on which the first of the three phases of a rehabilitation project that has been under negotiation since 1989 should be completed. The beginning of the construction work has already been postponed several times, because the negotiating process underwent the usual advances and retreats, impasses, and threats of absolute standstill. Now, however, Paulo Casimiro and his colleagues have "faith" that the startup will definitely take place some time during these first days of August. There are reasons:

For this first phase, the European Community, under the heading of "Support for Countries' Victims of Apartheid," has already made available 573,000 ECUs [European currency units] (nearly \$800,000), running the project with technical assistance from Skillshare Africa, a nongovernmental organization from Great Britain. This past 29 July, the director general of this organization, Cliff Allum, coming from London, and the director in Mozambique, Alvaro Casimiro, were in Lichinga to officially set 2 August as the day of the beginning of construction work. More than that, the moment signaled the immediate alleviation of one of the most serious problems that the provincial hospital of Niassa has to deal with—the lack of hospital clothing.

Cliff Allum made the formal delivery of packages containing nearly 3,000 pieces, among which were sheets and blankets, pajamas, dressing gowns and pants, and [?balalaikas] for the medical and paramedical personnel and the mothers staying there. These pieces were manufactured in the country, by Benta in Beira.

According to the director general of Skillshare Africa, the project's philosophy has this priority: "the physical rehabilitation of the facilities and the replacement of equipment." And so, the main nucleus of the building will be rehabilitated over the upcoming 12 months, and we will proceed with the replacement of the hospital clothing and medications, the delivery of two ambulances and a vehicle for the staff, and installation of equipment for the production of solar energy.

The completion of the final two phases to follow will be conditional upon the "satisfactory completion of this one." In the second phase, plans are "to complete the physical rehabilitation," attacking the kitchen, the dining hall, and the laundry, a picture that will be completed with the construction of houses for "hospital personnel." Then, in the third phase, which is defined as that in which "we will look outside the walls of the hospital," it is agreed that health centers should be built around this unit in order to take some of the pressure off it and decentralize medical care.

Up until 1989, the provincial hospital of Niassa, which is considered to be a tertiary-level facility, operated with the almost exclusive support of Soviet medical teams under the framework of the agreements that were then in force and had been in force since the nation's independence in 1975. With the dissolution of the USSR in 1989, Lichinga suddenly found itself faced with the truth that it would have to replace "with extreme urgency" the medical team, which already had its bags packed for the flight home. And with it went all the technical and logistical apparatus that had served as support.

It was in this emergency, according to Alvaro Casimiro, that the Ministry of Health contacted Skillshare Africa. "We simply reached the conclusion that no technician of ours could work here adequately unless the hospital was physically rehabilitated first," he said. This is the genesis of the project that is beginning now, nearly four years later. Be that as it may, it is good to see that at the same hospital in Lichinga, however, in different areas, one also finds organizations such as UNICEF, Handicap International, and the Swiss Red Cross engaged in assistance work with projects of their own. Against this dispersal of efforts, Cliff Allum expressed the feeling that "I think that it would be extremely beneficial for the NGO's [nongovernmental organizations] in Mozambique to coordinate their efforts."

To Work on Change

In this region, Skillshare Africa, which is geared "fundamentally" toward technical assistance, is supporting projects in Lesotho, Botswana, and Swaziland, in addition to Mozambique, where the "vanguard" of its intervention is located in Lichinga. Up until now, in fact, everything indicates that the scope of action of this NGO in the country is going to broaden and diversify, at least according to the perception of Cliff Allum, who was

named director general nearly three months ago and who had his baptism in terms of contact with reality on the ground here.

Before Niassa, Cliff Allum covered hundreds of kilometers by car in Cabo Delgado, Nampula, Sofala, and Maputo, to reach an all-encompassing conclusion: That, far from forming differences, the situations encountered tend toward similarity—generalized shortage of water or equipment to transport it to the communities, lack of means of operation, and an urgent need to physically rehabilitate buildings.

The visit was geared toward water supply systems, hospital units, schools, and community development projects, with exchanges of impressions with institutions, community leaders, and governmental cadres. Not only does Cliff Allum believe that the understanding thus achieved can eventually make it possible in the future to diversify the traditional areas of operation and intervention of Skillshare Africa in Mozambique, but he also predicted changes in its very philosophy and *modus operandi*, so as to correspond to new challenges. This is always possible, even if it is understood that it depends primarily on appeals or interest that may or may not come from the national authorities.

A clear example of this is the fact that, after referring to all the items that would affect the assistance projects in the areas of education, health, and water supply, Cliff Allum said that in none of these sectors could one

conceive of development without involving agriculture and fishing, which are thought of as supports. And in these, there is the need to think about the transition from the primary phase of harvest to that of the whole process up to the placement of the product on the markets, both national and foreign, and the transition from subsistence levels to those of creation of surpluses.

Precisely for agriculture and fishing, the director general of Skillshare said that he was aware of the existence, on the part of the government, of a development strategy, referring to that convergence as a good point of departure for future cooperation. "The question is: How can these sectors be improved, thus improving people's living conditions?" he said.

Be that as it may, the formulations will only be definitive after a deeper "evaluation" and "I have collected some information." Lichinga and its provincial hospital already constitute a point of departure. Nevertheless, "I continue to understand that a change in our philosophy and *modus operandi* will perhaps be the optimum direction for the future."

As far as Cliff Allum is concerned, then, the question is not whether his organization will or will not be able to participate in the social and economic rehabilitation of Mozambique, but rather lies in defining "what is the role to be played" in the multifaceted checkerboard of the NGO's in the country.

Cote d'Ivoire

Ouattara Promises Tough Economic Measures for Workers

AB2710193593 Abidjan FRATERNITE MATIN in French 25 Oct 93 p 23

[Report by Alfred Dan Moussa]

[Text] Prime Minister Alassane Dramane Ouattara arrives in Abidjan this afternoon from Paris via Dakar. Answering questions by local media in the Senegalese capital yesterday, he stated that Cote d'Ivoire will continue to cut the number of its civil servants. "In a few days, I will announce important measures in Cote d'Ivoire to continue the reorganization of the country's economy... These are difficult measures, but it is for us the only way of finding again the path of growth," the prime minister disclosed.

Prime Minister Alassane Dramane Ouattara, who was officially in Paris to meet President Felix Houphouet-Boigny, is in Dakar, Senegal. But what is he going to do there?

...President Felix Houphouet-Boigny asked me to come and meet President Abdou Diouf who agreed that I come from Paris to see him before returning to Abidjan.

That is how the prime minister explained the purpose of his visit to Senegal upon his arrival in Dakar yesterday. The country is preparing to observe a 72-hour general strike as of tomorrow to protest the government austerity measures. A 15 percent salary cut in the civil service announced in August is being negotiated by the government and the labor unions. With a foreign debt of 900 billion CFA francs, Senegal has to find 60 billion CFA francs before next January to honor its commitments. What will the country do to clear a deficit of 180 billion CFA francs?

Dakar has various options. She can either cut salaries, sack 13,200 of the 66,000 civil servants, or pledge to support the devaluation of the CFA franc.

Questioned on this current issue, Prime Minister Ouattara defined wage bill as average salary multiplied by the number of civil servants. He then stated: "If you want to cut wage bill which represents between two-thirds and three-fourths of public expenditure; if you want to invest, if you want civil servants to be paid regularly, if you want the state to be able to function normally, the wage bill must be necessarily cut."

To reach this objective Senegal opted for salary cuts, which was rejected outright by Ivorians in 1990. At that time, Cote d'Ivoire opted to cut the number of civil servants—these two options really are the same. In Cote d'Ivoire, the prime minister recalled, 20,000 out of 120,000 civil servants were dropped in three years.

What Awaits Cote d'Ivoire?

It was not an easy decision, the prime minister admitted. "They are people that we know, they are fathers, they are sons of the retired. In Africa, each person has at least 10 dependents. It is difficult... But it is the survival of our states that is in question, and Cote d'Ivoire will continue to reduce the number of its civil servants. In a few weeks I will announce important measures in Cote d'Ivoire to continue the reorganization," the prime minister stated.

This statement reminds us of the recent news conference given by Minister Daniel Kablan Duncan of economy and finance at which Ivorians were called on to get ready for new sacrifices and more efforts.

Nothing can be done without sacrifices, the prime minister made it a point to say yesterday. He congratulated the Senegalese Government for taking the courageous measures of cutting salary by 15 percent and having the private sector accept one day's sacrifice, that is one day's work without pay. "As officials, we are obliged to tell our peoples the truth and to tell them that in all the countries in the world the crisis is serious." The prime minister then gave account of what he saw: "I have come from France. I saw many demonstrations. Industrial actions take place everyday... In franc zone countries the wage bill problem is a painful one... We tried to preserve the benefits and protect workers for years, but unfortunately the reality is that our states' financial situation is seriously deteriorated. That must be taken into account."

Do workers—all the workers—understand the statements made about the need for sacrifice, or the appeal for sacrifice, the same way. In other words, do they grasp the interest and significance of the sacrifice needed? That is not sure in view of the calls for strikes heard all over the city of Dakar. Last weekend—mainly yesterday—many families among those who still have financial resources in this period of the month made provisions to avoid any surprise by the three-day general strike, that is from 26 to 28 October. Will all businesses be closed to show that the strike has been observed? But the important point is that a number of citizens are wondering whether they will or not have to experience power and water cuts—a major indication that the boycott actually took place. For some people, the austerity measures should be borne by the ruling class, and these people are the ones supporting the motion of censure against the government. The motion will result in the resignation of Prime Minister Habib Thiam and of all the ministers if it was adopted at the National Assembly this morning. Unfortunately, the National Assembly comprises 120 deputies, including 84 from the ruling party and 36 non-socialists. Also, some of the 36 have reason to support the majority in addition to the "mara"—marabouts—who use their great influence in supporting the government. A private, who took part in the Gulf war, is among those who think so.

For the others, it is better to reduce salaries than increase the unemployment rate. Nicholas Camara, a waiter,

supports this stand. At the end of September, the sum corresponding to one day's work was already deducted from his salary, contrary to the civil servants who are still wondering how their October payslips will be. That is the big question disturbing President Abdou Diouf who, by the time we were going to press, was to receive Prime Minister Ouattara and his wife Dominique for dinner.

Police Reportedly Disperse Unemployed With Teargas

AB2710184193 Libreville Africa No. 1 in French 1830 GMT 26 Oct 93

[Text] The police used teargas to disperse a gathering of unemployed people in Abidjan today. About 150 unemployed were demonstrating near the National Assembly building in the center of Abidjan demanding their allowances, which some of them have not received for five months.

Paper Views CFA Franc's Chances of Survival

AB2810115893 Abidjan LE REVEIL-HEBDO in French 21 Oct 93 p 11

[Article by Gustave Nguessan]

[Text] The economic situation of the West African Monetary Union [UMOA] member states is in the red. There is no glimmer of hope in the gloomy economic skies for future improvement and even the most optimistic forecasts cannot state definitely when the turnabout for growth in our economies will occur.

Conscious of this situation, African leaders are continuing their search for better ways of putting Africa back on track in the global economy but these remedial measures are not without pains. Senegal, which has "boldly" adopted one of the tough remedial measures to salvage her economy, is now caught up in a whirl of social upheavals. Even the 15-percent salary reduction, whose effects have been toned down with an accompanying relief package, is not being readily accepted by the people who, like their counterparts in other UMOA countries, (rightly) consider that they have already had their share of suffering for that matter.

Africa and UMOA need to mobilize foreign resources to support their economies but the rules governing the procurement of foreign resources, as World Bank President Lewis T. Preston said, "have changed in this post-Cold War period. Aid packages are screened and often reduced." This shows just how the gods of growth seem to have turned their backs on Africa. Mr. V.K. Jaycox's statement that "Africa still remains prey to external conditionalities" certainly corroborates this fact.

In fact, in her justifiable desire to get relief from her economic torment, Africa must first satisfy increasingly difficult foreign aid conditions. The IMF's structural

adjustment programs are the most cogent example of this. It is common knowledge that among the solutions proposed to African countries, salary cuts and or devaluation are the most acceptable to the IMF but also the most dreaded by African governments. The Senegalese Government, which is currently trying out the bitter pill of salary cuts, does not yet know what the social effects will be. In 1990, Cote d'Ivoire attempted to adopt the salary reduction option (Kouame plan) but it was quick to renounce it in the face of the people's reaction. Obviously such an outcome is not of a nature to encourage the adoption of that "remedy."

We are now left with devaluation. On this issue, UMOA leaders had wanted to sound positive and announced with France's assent that the CFA franc would not be devalued. Although this decision came as a relief to the business community (especially foreign investors) one wonders about the CFA's real chances of survival. Although very few people would prefer the devaluation option, there are indications that its implementation is quite imminent. In the first place, the position adopted by the heads of state was in response to the need to curtail persistent rumors about devaluation which had already led to massive outflow of the CFA franc, but it may also serve as one of the indicators for a possible early devaluation. This can be explained by the fact that one of the conditions (or perhaps the first) for a good devaluation is the secrecy that surrounds it and its surprise effect.

First, the economist must be caught by surprise in order to avoid any anticipation (like capital outflow) that might lessen the expected effects.

Second, the CFA franc is a common currency for seven very different economies. To devalue such a currency presupposes the harmonization of the economic policies of member countries. It will be recalled that during the last ministerial meeting of the franc zone held here in Abidjan, regional economic integration was one of the main issues discussed. Although regional integration responds to the concern to create one economic unit to promote development, it might also be a demonstration of the desire to bring the region's economies to the same "level" in order to tone down the differences with the hope that any decision on devaluation will have relatively identical effects on member countries. However, as far as UMOA is concerned, the sector in which it is virtually impossible to decide for one single country is the monetary sector, particularly in regard to devaluation.

The third indicator is the new conditionality attached to French assistance to the structural adjustment program concluded with IMF. France is known to be the "monetary godfather" of the franc area. She is aware of the difficulty in handling devaluation and this is why she ruled out the possibility of a devaluation in concert with the countries of the franc zone but in view of the

continuing deficits recorded by her African partners, the decision not to devalue the CFA franc will be difficult to honor.

So, realizing that devaluation, which is a difficult option, would be adopted as a last resort, France has "charged" the IMF to impose it on African countries, thus clearing herself of responsibility for this. Another indicator is the government's decision to reduce customs duties and taxes on certain products, which seems to fall in line with the same policy. In fact, reducing the relative value of the currency of a country amounts to increasing the local prices of the country's imports. By reducing import prices through customs duties, we demonstrate that we are aware of the fact that prices will soon shoot up. Also, reducing import prices can cushion the inflationary effects of imported goods following a devaluation.

Finally, the recent presence of French treasury inspectors in our country is also another indicator.

So, are we right in entertaining fears about an imminent devaluation? There is every reason to believe that our fears are justified. We will certainly know our fate in the coming months.

Liberia

Tanzanian Army Team Arrives for Talks With ECOMOG

AB2710151793 Monrovia Radio ELBC in English 0900 GMT 27 Oct 93

[Text] A six-man team of the Tanzanian Army arrived in the country yesterday to hold talks with the High Command of ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group], the United Nations, and delegations of the U.S. Government.

The special UN secretary general representative for Liberia, Mr. Trevor Gordon-Somers, who announced this at a press conference yesterday, said the coming of the advanced six-man party will pave the way for the coming of the full contingent of the Tanzanian troop as part of the expanded ECOMOG. Mr. Gordon-Somers further disclosed that another advanced team from Uganda is to arrive in the country this weekend on similar mission. He said the first advanced team from Zimbabwe, which has ended its path-finding mission, left last Saturday [23 October] following discussions with ECOMOG, the UN and U.S. different delegations. [sentence as heard]

Ambassador Gordon-Somers said they were awaiting the date of the airlift of the first battalion from Zimbabwe to Liberia. According to LINA, the arrival of these troops will begin the actual implementation of the military aspect of the Cotonou Accord which calls for the disarmament of all parties and demobilization of combatants.

Meanwhile, Mr. Gordon-Somers said, the technical mission to assess regional tension for the UN military observers is expected to start soon. He did not elaborate but added that ECOMOG will be stationed together with a team of UN military observers.

In another development, the United Nations says it now has 52 military observers in Liberia including the deputy commander of the mission, Brigadier General (Hag) of Bangladesh. General (Hag) arrived in the country yesterday.

Another 20 observers are expected to arrive today from Malaysia and Jordan, while 18 others will come over the weekend to make the total number of UN observers in the country 100.

AFL Commander Warns Soldiers To Maintain Discipline

AB2710164093 Monrovia Radio ELBC in English 0900 GMT 27 Oct 93

[Text] The chief of staff of the Armed Forces of Liberia [AFL], Lieutenant General Hezekiah Bowen, says if the Army wants to enjoy public confidence, its members must desist from what he called (?damaging) activities and observe the rules that govern the smooth operations of the organization. General Bowen warned that any member of the AFL caught engaged in criminal activities, especially armed robbery [words indistinct] on the peaceful citizens, will face preliminary investigation and if found guilty, the appropriate punishment will be implemented to serve as a deterrent for others.

He told soldiers of the AFL not to wear uniforms when not on duty. The military police has been ordered to ensure regular support to arrest soldiers who are in the habit of carrying arms and wearing uniforms while off duty. General Bowen is advising soldiers of the AFL to help preserve the image of the organization through disciplined behavior.

Nigeria

More on Plane Hijacking by Group Opposing Interim Regime

Hostages Freed if 'One' Demand Met

AB2710180393 Paris AFP in English 1731 GMT 27 Oct 93

[Text] Niamey, Oct 27 (AFP)—Four hijackers of a Nigerian passenger jet said Wednesday they would free their 23 hostages if at least one of their demands was met. Niger's transport minister announced. The hijackers who seized control of a Nigeria Airways domestic flight Monday threatened they would blow up the aircraft if five demands were not met by noon Thursday.

Demands include the resignation of the caretaker government the outgoing Nigerian military junta installed when it voided UN-supervised elections in June, freedom of the press and trials of all military officers and civilians who cooperated with Nigeria's military authorities.

They also want the killers of Nigerian journalist Dele Giwa brought to court and the findings of a probe into the death of 160 officers in a 1992 plane crash published.

Transport Minister Souleye Abdouleye told a news conference negotiations with the hijackers were proceeding well, adding he was hopeful that a solution could be found before the deadline was up. Earlier informed sources at the airport said negotiations were difficult because the hijackers wanted all their demands met.

Abdouleye did not say what had caused the hijackers' change of mind but he said the four were having problems agreeing on a common position. He said Niger authorities would not resort to force to end the hostage ordeal.

An official from Niger's civil aviation department who held talks with them Tuesday said the hijackers were becoming increasingly nervous.

Correcting earlier figures, Abdouleye said that 20 passengers and three crew were still being held by the hijackers after they freed 128 people.

A co-pilot who was freed "momentarily" Tuesday after complaining of pains in the ear was still hospitalized Wednesday and has not returned to the aircraft, contrary to what was reported earlier. The control tower again closed the airport early Wednesday.

The hijackers say they belong to the Movement for the Advancement of Democracy (MAD) and are calling on Nigeria's military-installed interim leader, Ernest Shonkan, and his government to resign. Niger officials said.

The Guardian newspaper in Lagos said Wednesday the MAD warned its gunmen on board the Nigeria Airways plane were a "suicide squad." The paper said that initial press assumptions that MAD was a radical offshoot of a similarly named Movement for the Advancement of Democracy in Africa (MADA) were incorrect.

The paper said MADA was a completely different organisation, formed in June, and that its leader C.J. Ejorh had firmly condemned the hijacking.

Nigerian opposition leader Moshood Abiola, the presumed winner of June's presidential elections annulled by the outgoing junta, condemned the air piracy and told the hijackers to surrender.

A source in the Abuja office of Professor Okon Uya, the Chairman of Nigeria's National Electoral Commission (NEC), said Wednesday he was not aboard the Nigerian Airbus. One of the passengers released by the highjackers

had told AFP Tuesday in Abuja, capital of Nigeria, that Uya was one of those still being held by the hijackers.

Brigadier General Hafiz Momoh, another top official identified by the interviewee as also being held in the plane, was released Tuesday.

Nigerian Foreign Affairs Secretary told reporters in Lagos that his government had sought advice from abroad on how to handle the crisis, adding: "All experts that know about hijacking are already in Niamey."

Spokesman Denies Hijackers Set Deadline

AB2710183093 Kaduna Radio Nigeria in English 1700 GMT 27 Oct 93

[Text] The federal government has not been given any deadline within which to meet the demands of the gunmen who hijacked the Nigeria Airways plane on Monday [25 October]. Speaking to a correspondent of Radio Nigeria, a spokesman for the airline, Mr. Chris Aligbe, denied that the government was given 72 hours, which will expire tomorrow, to meet the demands of the hijackers. The spokesman noted that the issue had become a national one and the federal government will do everything possible to ensure the safe release of the remaining hostages on the aircraft. Mr. Aligbe however said that the negotiations were becoming tougher as the conditions were getting harder.

Earlier today the hijackers of the plane allowed some doctors to see some hostages reported to have been sick. A Nigerian spokesman described the hijackers as very friendly and cooperative by allowing medical personnel to see the patients any time the occasion arose.

The Niger trade minister has ruled out possible violence in dealing with the situation because, according to him, an understanding has been established between the hijackers and the authorities of that country. All the 22 passengers and crew still on board the hijacked aircraft are reported to be hale and hearty.

Meanwhile a copy of the printed statement of the hijackers has been made available to the press. In it the hijackers demanded the abrogation of Decrees 33 and 48 of 1992; the handing over of power to what they called a well constituted authority; and the trial of some people in connection with the nation's economy.

Assembly Calls Emergency Session

AB2810084893 Lagos NTA Television Network in English 2000 GMT 27 Oct 93

[Text] The two political parties, Social Democratic Party [SDP] and National Republican Convention [NRC], have appealed to the hijackers of the Nigeria Airways airbus to lay down their arms and spare the lives of innocent citizens whose cause they claim to champion.

In separate interviews with correspondent Yusuf Ady in Abuja, the national publicity secretary of the NRC, Mr. Okey Uzoho; and his SDP counterpart, Mr. Amos

Idakula, said the Interim National Government should immediately investigate the root cause of the incident and take action.

[Begin recording] [Uzoho] What I think the government, should do is to tighten security around the airports. All the people who have been, through commission or omission, giving some kind of impetus to the people who committed this act should also be brought to book. So we are calling on the government to investigate this.

[Idakula] To achieve democracy, there are rules and regulations and guidelines for achieving democracy. [sentence as heard] We do not have to resort to terrorism before we can achieve democracy in this country. The government should get to the root cause of this problem and come out with a decisive action to forestall any action in the future. [end recording]

The National Assembly has meanwhile scheduled an emergency meeting of its principal officers to deliberate on the situation. Already the chairman of the House of Representatives Committee on Transport and Aviation, Mr. Onyea, has left for Niamey to join the team of negotiators.

The speaker of the House of Representatives, Chief Agunwa Nnaekwe, in a statement, described as reprehensible and counterproductive the use of terrorism to fight any cause. He said as an international crime, terrorism worsens rather than solves problems. While appealing for the release of the remaining hostages, Chief Nnaekwe said the hijackers should note that Nigerians do not endorse what he called their recourse to crude political militancy which unnecessarily puts the lives of innocent people at risk.

Progress Noted in Negotiations

AB2710225693 Lagos NTA Television Network in English 2000 GMT 27 Oct 93

[Excerpts] Progress is being made in efforts to end the hijack of the Nigeria Airways plane. NTA News correspondent, Matthews Otaeleke, spoke with the head of the Nigerian team of negotiators, Aviation Secretary Alhaji Bashir Dalhatu. Matthews has an update on the hijack:

[Begin Matthews recording] At the last count, 129 persons had been released. One hundred and twenty-two of them were flown into Nigeria yesterday, Tuesday. The rest are here, including Brigadier General (Hafiz Mamoh), national director of the NYSC [National Youth Service Corps], who was discharged from hospital here in Niamey this morning. [passage omitted]

For now, the Niamey International Airport, which was closed on Monday [18 October], is open to traffic. The hijackers—four of them—are said to be Nigerians and between the ages of 19 and 31. Hopes are very high that any moment from now negotiations will come to an end with the release of the remaining people held hostage in the aircraft as well as the aircraft itself. [end recording]

One of the released passengers on the hijacked Nigeria Airways A-310 Airbus and director of protocol at the presidential lounge, Alhaji Abdul Wahab, spoke with transport and communications correspondent, Rose Onya, about their experience in what he described as "21 hours of nightmare," which started about 30 minutes after takeoff. Alhaji Abdul Wahab also recounted how the presence of mind of the special adviser on security, Alhaji (Hassan Gwamso), whom he said was on an official tour to Sokoto in the presidential jet.

[Begin Wahab recording] [Words indistinct] by aircraft, and he started trailing us immediately; wherever this aircraft goes he was going to go with us, and he was trailing us immediately and abandoned his mission to Maiduguri. That is how we continued. You know, in Ndjamena, in Chad, there was no water and there was no light in the night because they are in the state of war. Therefore, it would be very difficult to make any maneuver there, except taking of fuel. So, it was maneuvered that they should not allow us to land and at the same time, the presidential jet quickly went back to inform our aircraft—the Nigeria Airways that was hijacked—that, look, if they don't allow you to land in Ndjamena—which they would not allow them—please go back to Sokoto or you go back to Niamey, which would be easier for them to handle the situation. [as heard] So, when they were not allowed to land over there, they turned back and overflew Maiduguri, Kano, Sokoto, and back to Niamey. By the time we got to Niamey again, we found the presidential aircraft on the ground with the special adviser on security already conducting, you know, initiative to make negotiation with them. [end recording]

Alhaji Abdul Wahab said that initially only two or three passengers were beaten, but in all, the four hijackers, whom he said addressed themselves as freedom fighters for the sake of peace, were humane, calm, and collected. He spoke on how he escaped from being held hostage with the remaining passengers:

[Begin Wahab recording] [Word indistinct] around, they came to me: Who are you? I said, merci beaucoup. Can we know you? Merci beaucoup. Who do you work for? Merci beaucoup. What is your name? Merci beaucoup. Where is your identity card? Merci beaucoup. And, at last, I remembered I had one identity card when I was serving in Central African Republic. I showed them, they couldn't read the French, I read it for them: Republique Centrafricaine [Central African Republic]. And, I opened the identity card for them, then showed it—I didn't leave it because there is Embassy of Nigeria [written] inside. So, they saw my picture, but where there is Embassy of Nigeria, I held it very firmly. They didn't see Nigeria. They said: Are you a foreigner? I said, merci beaucoup. They said, okay, go to the Chinese delegation. There was the vice president of the Chinese bank, who is on official visit to Nigeria. I joined them. [Words indistinct] they saw them, they said, Your Excellency, they said: Keep quiet, today is not excellent. So, I disguised, and I was with them. [end recording]

Officials Board Plane for Talks

AB2710213593 Paris AFP in English 2050 GMT 27 Oct 93

[Excerpt] Niamey, Oct 27 (AFP)—Two Niger officials held more than an hour of face-to-face negotiations Wednesday with four hijackers who took over a Nigeria Airways passenger jet and diverted it to Niger, the official heading a crisis team said.

"Two representatives from the crisis group were able to go aboard the plane and talk with the hijackers for more than an hour," Niger Transport Minister Souleye Abdouleye said, without identifying the officials involved.

Although no headway was made at the meeting, Abdouleye said he hoped contacts "would continue in a direct way."

The hijackers have agreed to meet journalists, the minister said, but only on condition that the U.S. Cable News Network is present and that the meeting will take place after Thursday's deadline when the four men said they would blow up the Airbus A-130 jet. [passage omitted]

Aircraft Stormed; Hostages Freed

AB2810062393 Niamey Voix du Sahel Network in French 0545 GMT 28 Oct 93

[Excerpt] The drama of the hijacking of the A-310 aircraft belonging to Nigeria Airways is over. Last night, security men stormed and took control of the aircraft. The operation left at least one dead—a steward—and five injured, including one of the four hijackers.

According to well-informed sources, about 30 security men stormed the aircraft, using tear gas. The operation took place between midnight and 0100. According to an employee of the Agency for Air Navigation Safety in Africa and Madagascar we contacted a short while ago, traffic at the airport has returned to normal. [passage omitted on background information]

Radio Reports End of Hijack Drama

AB2810064093 Lagos Radio Nigeria Network in English 0600 GMT 28 Oct 93

[Text] Security forces in Niger Republic have stored the Nigeria Airways plane hijacked to Niamey and freed the remaining passengers and crew. The operation took place at about midnight local time. A report said that in the process of the operation, one crew member was killed while a few other persons were injured. The number was put at four or five. According to the report, 17 of the rescued passengers brought to the airport tarmac were looking exhausted. More details of the operation are still coming in. The hijack drama started on Monday where the airways plane, an airbus, was making a scheduled domestic flight from Lagos to Abuja.

The hijackers directed the pilot and crew to fly the plane first to Ndjamena, Chad Republic, where the authorities refused landing rights. The plane was then flown to Niamey where initially, the authorities also refused landing rights but after some time allowed it to land. An official statement in Abuja shortly afterwards put the number of passengers at 137 with the crew of 11. A government delegation dispatched to Niamey to see to the safety and release of the passengers, crew and aircraft. The first batch of 125 passengers and crew released by the hijackers were flown home on 26 October. No further release was made by the hijackers until the whole drama came to an end a few hours ago.

Yesterday, the secretary for foreign affairs, Chief M.T. Mbu, said experts on hijacking from various countries were in Niamey to assist in obtaining the release of the seized plane, the passengers, and crew. The secretary was speaking with airport correspondents in Lagos on his way to New York.

Government Reaction to End of Hijack Situation

Foreign Minister on Plane Storming

LD2810094893 Paris Radio France International in French 0630 GMT 28 Oct 93

[Excerpts] The ordeal is over for the approximately 20 passengers and crew of the Nigerian Airways airbus being held by hijackers at Niamey airport. [passage omitted] The Niger authorities gave the order for it to be stormed. The action did leave one dead, a member of the crew, and five injured. Niger Minister of Foreign Affairs Abdourahamane Hama explains. He was interviewed last night by Jean-Karim Fall:

[Begin recording] [Hama] When we negotiated with them yesterday to get the last hostages out, and we realized that they had reached the end of the concessions they could grant us, and we felt that they would not move any further, because in the end there were people among them who were truly determined, who did not even want to negotiate. We were afraid that they would dominate the team. They repeated several times that if, once the deadline, the ultimatum, had expired, their demands had not been satisfied, they would blow up the plane.

[Fall] So it was then that you decided to launch this operation against the plane?

[Hama] Exactly.

[Fall] There were no other avenues for negotiation?

[Hama] There were no other avenues for negotiation. We realized that with these gentlemen we would certainly not solve things simply by negotiation, and that we needed to take other measures, and that is what we did. [end recording]

House Speaker Condemns Hijacking

AB2810064893 Lagos Radio Nigeria Network in English 0600 GMT 28 Oct 93

[Text] The speaker of the House of Representatives, Mr. Agunwa Nnaekwe, has appealed to Nigerians to employ constitutional means in seeking redress for their grievances. He made the appeal yesterday in Abuja when commenting on the hijacking of the Nigeria Airways plane. Mr. Nnaekwe described the incident as unfortunate. He pointed out that democracy could not thrive under an atmosphere of tension and insecurity.

NEC Chairman Not Among Passengers

AB2810072593 Paris AFP in English 0034 GMT 28 Oct 93

[Text] Lagos, Oct 27 (AFP)—Professor Okon Uya, the chairman of the National Electoral Commission (NEC), was not aboard the Nigerian airbus currently held in Niamey by hijackers with 23 persons on board, a source in his office in Abuja said Wednesday.

"Professor Uya is around here. This morning, he presided over a meeting of electoral commissioners from 30 states of the federation" during which the forthcoming revision of voters' register was discussed, said the source contacted from here by telephone.

One of the 125 passengers just released by the hijackers had told AFP Tuesday in Abuja that Uya was one of those still being held by the hijackers.

Brigadier General Hafiz Momoh, another top official identified by the interviewee as also being held in the plane, was released Tuesday. Some local newspapers here had also reported that the NEC boss was among those held hostage by the hijackers.

President Shonekan Urges African Trade Cooperation

AB2810105093 Lagos Radio Nigeria Network in English 0600 GMT 28 Oct 93

[Text] The head of state, Chief Ernest Shonekan, has emphasized the need to introduce measures that would facilitate Africa's economic recovery. He said that Africa had vast resources in mineral and agricultural products that could hasten her recovery.

Chief Shonekan stated this yesterday in a message to the opening of the inaugural general meeting of the African Export-Import Bank in Abuja. He stressed the need for closer trade cooperation among African countries to facilitate the development of the continent and improve the economic wellbeing of the people. The head of state urged participants to utilize their expertise in importing protective machinery which would boost exports rather than the various luxury consumer goods. Chief Ernest Shonekan said that the bank would serve as a clearing house for information on trade.

Earlier, in an address of welcome, the president of the African Development Bank, Mr. Babacar Ndiaye, said that democracy in Africa could not be sustained in isolation of economic development. He said that the bank was a true symbol of Africa's political and economic maturity and expressed the need for the continent to compete effectively to attract foreign investment in productive export-oriented enterprises.

Petroleum Minister on Liquefied Gas Project, Fuel Supply

AB2710215093 Lagos NTA Television Network in English 2000 GMT 26 Oct 93

[Excerpts] The Nigerian liquefied natural gas [LNG] project, whose implementation has faltered since its conception over 20 years ago, may yet get a new lease of life when it is relaunched next month. The secretary of petroleum and mineral resources, Mr. Don Etiebet, gave this indication in Lagos today while briefing members of the House Committee on Petroleum Matters. Correspondent Ernest Anoyo has the details:

[Begin recording] [Anoyo] [Words indistinct] for request by the chairman of the House Committee on Petroleum Matters, Dr. Furo Ibiama, that the committee be furnished with comprehensive briefs on the liquefied natural gas project, appropriate pricing of petroleum products, the proposed purchase of tankers by the NNPC [Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation], and the persistent fuel scarcity situation around the country. Mr. Etiebet said that the LNG project was from every indication in danger of being jettisoned at the inception of the interim government. But the resolve of the government to keep the project on course has led to some positive development.

[Etiebet] That project is going to be revived again. The international finance community is favorably disposed to find it funds, you know, to fund it again. The other I was talking with the representative of the IFC [International Finance Corporation] which actually confirmed that as far as they were concerned as the financial adviser for this project, the project was gone and lost and dead. But with the steps we are taking now, we hope not to put [words indistinct] on paper to their board and to take up the equity in the project and also to raise international finance, you know, for the project.

[Anoyo] On the issue of appropriate pricing of petroleum products, Mr. Etiebet said that negotiations are still on with the various interest groups on how best to resolve the problem. He said that while the going pump price of petrol may be much at variance with the socioeconomic condition of many Nigerians, government would want to carry the people along in whatever policies it may adopt over the issue. [passage omitted]

The petroleum secretary said that the sincere efforts by his ministry to ensure steady supply of petroleum products around the country have yielded encouraging results. He noted the situation in the northern areas of

the country where the roadside dealers of petroleum products are gradually being forced to close down following the relatively easy access to the commodity.

On the issue of the purchase of new tankers by the NNPC, Mr. Etiebet assured the committee members that the ministry had no intention of establishing a freighting company. The tankers are being purchased, he said, to form a reserve transportation system for petroleum products in times of strategic need occasioned by unexpected disruption in the distribution system. [end recording]

Sierra Leone

Strasser Returns From Cyprus Commonwealth Meeting

AB2710145993 Freetown SLBS Radio in English 0700 GMT 27 Oct 93

[Text] The chairman of the NPRC [National Provisional Ruling Council] and head of state, Captain Valentine Strasser, has returned home after attending the Commonwealth heads of government meeting which ended in Limassol, Cyprus, [and] which called for the withdrawal of Turkish occupation forces from the island. The summit also agreed to send a team to monitor general elections in South Africa in April next year.

Winding up his activities at the closing session of the summit, Capt. Strasser had audience with many heads of state and government, including the sultan of Brunei, His Majesty Hassanah Bolkiah Mu'izzaddin Waddaulah.

Also on the closing day, the acting secretary of state, Department of Foreign Affairs, Captain Karefa Kargbo, in a press briefing, outlined the political, economic, and social developments in Sierra Leone. He emphasized strides made by the NPRC government in revamping the economy and laying the infrastructure for grassroots participation in the political process. Capt. Karefa Kargbo said democracy does not mean the mere holding of general elections without the necessary structures to uphold the democratic process. He took the opportunity to emphasize the need for an end to the mayhem in Liberia as a necessary condition [for] lasting peace in the subregion.

Acting Head of State Receives ECOMOG Field Commander

AB2710162193 Freetown SLBS Radio in English 0700 GMT 26 Oct 93

[Text] The acting head of state, Captain Julius Maada Bio, has received in audience the ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] field commander, Major General John Shagaya, who had called on Captain Bio to brief him about the situation in Liberia. Accompanying the field commander to State House was the undersecretary of defense, Captain Kumba Mondo; the Chief of Staff, Major General Jusu Sano Gattoh; and Lieutenant Colonel S.S. Samora of the Republic of Sierra Leone military forces attached to ECOMOG in Liberia.

Togo

Bomb Explodes Near Minister's Residence 27 Oct

AB2810095093 Libreville Africa No. 1 in French 0730 GMT 28 Oct 93

[Text] In Togo, there was a bomb explosion in Lome yesterday evening. There were no victims, but there was heavy damage. According to sources close to the gendarmerie, those who planted the bomb were probably aiming at the residence of the minister of territorial administration, which is a few meters away from the scene of the explosion. From Lome, our correspondent Olabire da Cruz reports:

[Begin Da Cruz recording] The explosion took place at about 2150 in front of a shop rented by a Chinese national in a building that also houses a cafe. The building, which is adjacent to the residence of Georges Agbodjan, minister of territorial administration and security, is located in the Be working class district, just about 100 meters away from the Prime Minister's Office.

The bomb, which was handmade—like all other bombs planted recently—blew up the shop's entrance door and tore a 50-cm hole in the ground. The shop's glass windows were also shattered, while several holes were left in its walls. Fortunately, there were no victims because the explosion took place at a rather late hour along a street that is usually not busy at that time of the day. There is no information about the perpetrators of the act, which has not yet been claimed—just like the other explosions the country has experienced in the past two years. The last explosion in Lome occurred at the French Cultural Center on 4 October. In addition to the damage, three people were injured. [end recording]

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